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THESIS

THE STRATEGY OF UKRAINIAN – U.S. DEFENSE AND MILITARY RELATIONS ON THE MODERN STAGE

by

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March 2003

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RELATIONS ON THE MODERN STAGE**

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND CIVIL-MILITARY
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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the strategy of modern Ukrainian – U.S. defense and military relations in three areas: Defense Relations; Military Relations; and Civil-Military Relations. These relations are assessed in terms of their adequacy to obtain Ukraine's overall strategic goals. The quantity and complexity of the U.S. defense and military engagement programs towards Ukraine have made the entire coordination process fragmented. The thesis concludes that the recent goals and objectives of existing relations should be concentrated on the Ukrainian Armed Forces transition to democratic civil-military relations. The transformation of the Ukrainian Armed Forces is essential to maintaining progress toward the development of stable and democratic civil-military relations in Ukraine and its armed forces that are prepared to assume their place within European and Transatlantic Security.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	INTRODUCTION.....	1
II.	UKRAINE AND THE U.S.: BASIC APPROACHES TO THE GOALS OF THEIR DEFENSE AND MILITARY RELATIONS	5
A.	DEVELOPMENT OF THE U.S. POSITION	5
B.	DEVELOPMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN POSITION	13
III.	POLITICAL-MILITARY AND MILITARY RELATIONS.....	19
A.	DEFENSE COOPERATION.....	19
B.	MILITARY COOPERATION	38
C.	CONCLUSION	40
IV.	UKRAINE - U.S. MILITARY RELATIONS INFLUENCE ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN ARMED FORCES TO DEMOCRATIC CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS.....	43
A.	FACILITATION OF TRANSPARENCY IN NATIONAL DEFENSE PLANNING AND BUDGETING PROCESSES.....	46
B.	ENSURING DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE ARMED FORCES	48
C.	CLEAR LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS	50
D.	CHAIN OF COMMAND FROM GOVERNMENT TO MILITARY THROUGH A CIVILIAN MINISTER OF DEFENSE.....	53
E.	QUALIFIED CIVILIANS WORKING WITH THE MILITARY ON DEFENSE POLICY, REQUIREMENTS, AND BUDGET	55
F.	EFFECTIVE OVERSIGHT AND REVIEW BY PARLIAMENT	56
G.	CONCLUSION	57
V.	FUTURE OF UKRAINIAN – U.S. DEFENSE AND MILITARY RELATIONS.....	61
A.	DEFENSE RELATIONS.....	61
B.	MILITARY RELATIONS AND RELATIONS IN THE AREA OF MILITARY SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY	66
VI.	CONCLUSION	69
	APPENDIX A. PLAN OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE OF UKRAINE AND THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FOR 2003.....	71
	APPENDIX B. 2003 U.S. - UKRAINE MILITARY CONTACTS PROGRAM.....	75
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	79
	INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST	83

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LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.	Main U.S. Agencies and Organizations Involved with Security, Defense and Military Engagement with Ukraine.....	10
Table 2.	Main Ukrainian Agencies Responsible for Security, Defense and Military Relations with the U.S.	15
Table 3.	Ukrainian Ministry of Defense and U.S. Department of Defense Chiefs Exchange Visits.	29
Table 4.	Ukrainian Civilian and Military IMET-Trained Personnel in the U.S. 1992 – 2001.....	32
Table 5.	Ukrainian – American Bilateral Military Contacts 1993 – 2001 Development Dynamics.....	39

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I. INTRODUCTION

Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Ukraine and the United States on 03 January 1992, interactions between the two nations have been marked by controversy. Partly because of the “Cold War” echo and the rivalry of two major political systems, the United States consistently pressured Ukraine in 1993 for unilateral nuclear disarmament. However, strong centrifugal processes in the countries of the former Soviet Union, coupled with Ukraine’s desire for independence, convinced Washington that this policy had poor prospects. Since then, U.S. foreign policy has been transformed into a more flexible democratic partnership between the two nations. On November 22, 1994, the *Charter for Ukrainian-American Partnership, Friendship and Cooperation*¹ highlighted the beginning of bilateral relations in the political, economical and military spheres. According to George W. Bush Administration, U.S. – Ukraine relations are a strategic priority, and the United States supports Ukraine’s democratic transition and its internal reforms.

These events led to the establishment of an important component of U.S. – Ukraine relations, the *Memorandum Concerning the Mutual Understanding and Cooperation in the Area of Defense and Military Relations Between Department of Defense of the United States of America and Ministry of Defense of Ukraine*² concluded on July 27, 1993, even before the key relations began. Since then, military relations have become an active forum for exchanges between the two nations. Ukrainian – American cooperation in defense affairs is based on annual cooperation plans and military contact programs concluded between the United States Department of Defense, the United States European Command, the Ukrainian General Staff and the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine.

¹ Embassy of Ukraine to the U.S., Ukraine - U.S. Relations, available [on-line]: <http://www.ukraineinfo.us/politics/bilatrelations.html>; accessed 11 February 2003.

² Embassy of Ukraine to the U.S., Ukraine - U.S. Relations, available [on-line]: <http://www.ukraineinfo.us/politics/bilatrelations.html>; accessed 11 February 2003.

The thesis emphasizes that Ukrainian – U.S. military relations emerged as one of the first areas of bilateral relations. These relations have not fully corresponded to Ukrainian national strategy and the main direction of its foreign policy. Since the consequences of these relations appeared to be conflicting for both countries, mainly because of the situation, the outcome is resulting in mounting tension between Ukraine and the U.S. military establishments. Dissatisfaction with the outcomes of such military cooperation has appeared in the mass media of both Ukraine and the United States, and stresses the inefficient methods of implementing the main elements of cooperation, such as educational programs, peacetime engagements and coordination activities. Such dissatisfaction may be discerned by adjusting the recent needs of the Ukrainian Armed Forces during its reform of and transition to democratic civil-military relations, as one of the main elements of the goals and objectives of defense cooperation. The hypothesis of the thesis is that Ukraine – U.S. defense relations should foster the reform process of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and transformation to democratic civilian-military relations. The contribution of democratic civil-military relations in the Ukrainian Armed Forces should benefit both Ukraine seeking future NATO membership and the United States, which considers such contribution as a guaranty of its future security, especially after the events of September 11, 2001. This effect may be achieved by:

- Adjusting the goals and objectives of recent cooperation in the defense sphere to a democratic structure of civil-military relations in the Armed Forces and its place within European and Transatlantic Security
- Directing the main existing methods (U.S.-Ukraine Joint Staff Talks, U.S.-Ukraine Bilateral Working Group) of bilateral relations in defense to renewed goals and objectives
- Revising the mechanisms and management of agencies that exist in the sphere of military cooperation between Ukraine and the U.S. with the goal to perform mutual efforts and prevent deviations from the path to democratic military reforms and the transition process in the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

From the aforementioned effects, the goals of this thesis are:

- To make an objective evaluation of the recent strategy of Ukraine – U.S. relations in defense affairs
- To find its cohesion with the political-military situation in both countries, with an emphasis on Ukraine

- To trace whether Ukraine and U.S. national security interests and the main directions of their respective foreign policies adequately reflect the current level of bilateral relations
- To examine the possible future implications of bilateral relations, particularly regarding the reform of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and their transition to democratic civil-military relations

This thesis formulates the lessons learned from an analysis of relations in the defense arena between Ukraine and the U.S. The research for thesis is based on current defense and military affairs. The terms “military cooperation”, “military relations”, “relations in the defense area” include: Ukrainian – American political-military, military relations and relations in the area of the military science and technology. The thesis employs the terms “relations”, “cooperation” and “strategy”, which have different connotations respective to the level of bilateral relations.

The thesis emphasizes this connection using various published sources published in Ukrainian, American and international mass media. The thesis does not describe the question of Ukraine – NATO relations but does address some points of Ukraine – U.S. – NATO concern, especially after Ukraine’s announcement of the decision to join NATO. Ukraine – U.S. military relations are presented thematically rather than chronologically.

Chapter II covers the question of the approaches of Ukraine and the United States to goals and objectives relative to their military relations and illustrates the development of their respective positions. A short time frame is evaluated to understand the main elements that shaped Ukraine – U.S. relations. The chapter also evaluates the main question: “What is served as a starting point for Ukraine and the United States to consider such relations as ‘strategic’”?

Chapter III analyses this strategic partnership using political-military, military and technical-military approaches. The chapter also analyzes and assesses

- ***Ukrainian – American Bilateral Working Group*** annual meetings that are the main element of analysis, assessment, estimation and implementation of new ideas for Ukrainian – American political-military, military and technical-military cooperation
- ***Ukraine – U.S. Joint Staff Talks*** with the goal of evaluating new issues concerning military cooperation and military policy, and the assessment of the existing military-political environment

- The ***Joint Defense Assessment Program*** (JDA) as the first attempt to evaluate the ability of the Ukrainian Armed Forces to join the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
- ***The Plan of Military Cooperation Between the United States Department of Defense and the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine*** as the main document, which defines the basic direction of U.S. – Ukraine military relations
- ***Ukrainian – American Military-to-Military Contact Programs*** as the main operational document that provides the main direction for bilateral relations.³

Chapter IV emphasizes the development of Ukraine – U.S. defense and military relations regarding the transformation of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. This chapter does not try to highlight all the aspects of transformation but only those of mutual interest to both countries, such as civil-military relations.

Chapter V makes suggestions about the possible future development of Ukrainian - U.S. relations in defense and military arenas.

³ The information about the main outcomes of these mechanisms is provided courtesy of the Department of International Cooperation Ministry of Defense of Ukraine.

II. UKRAINE AND THE U.S.: BASIC APPROACHES TO THE GOALS OF THEIR DEFENSE AND MILITARY RELATIONS

A. DEVELOPMENT OF THE U.S. POSITION

...Keeping focused on long terms objectives and not allowing every twist and turn of Ukrainian domestic politics to drive U.S. policy is crucial.⁴

U.S. security, defense and military strategies have are of strategic importance for Europe. With different mechanisms for performing those strategies, Europe will obviously remain a major factor of United States national interests abroad. Bearing this fact in mind, President Bush's advisors provide a European perspective on global alliances:

The slow emergence of Europe as a power in its own right is a fact that you will have to accept. Look on benignly and Europe will be more likely to develop in ways that suit the United States. Although the transatlantic relationship will become less unbalanced, the United States will remain the senior partner, at least in foreign and defense policy. The development of the EU, the evolution of other regional groups... will in a long run, make it harder for the United States to influence events through bilateralism or unilateralism. Working within a multinational framework, however cumbersome it may be at times, will serve the U.S. national interest. You need to explain it to American people.⁵

These words came shortly before the events of September 11, 2001. After that tragedy, the U.S.'s security, defense and military positions towards Ukraine as a newly independent state (NIS) in Eastern Europe have made a visible impact by scrutinizing the necessity of bilateral relations to battle terrorism. Although the U.S.'s security concerns in Ukraine were always important, they have soared in the way of assuring that a stable and democratic country is a guaranty for U.S. domestic and international security.

Using timeframes, the U.S. defense and military approach toward Ukraine may be characterized by three major periods: *the period of Ukrainian nuclear disarmament, the*

⁴ Carlos Pascual, Steven Pifer., "Ukraine's Bid for a Decisive Place in History," *The Washington Quarterly*, 25:1 pp. 175-192, Winter 2002.

⁵ Charles Grant, *A European Perspective on Global Alliances, American Military Strategy, Memos to a President*, W.W. Norton & Company.: New York, London, 2001.

period of bilateral military relations intensification and the period of the reevaluation of military relations priorities.

The first period is characterized by the close interrelation of political, security and military components in bilateral relations. The reason for such behavior from the U.S. side is obvious – American political and military circles dread a nuclear deterioration of the newly independent states, where there were serious questions surrounding the inheritance and control of nuclear weapons during the first years of independence.

For the United States, the nuclear issue had global and regional, as well as bilateral significance... there was also a geo-strategic concern on the part of the United States. With so many weapons scattered throughout the four former republics, it was feared that they could become an easy target for acquisition by terrorists. After a November 1992 visit to Ukraine, Senators Nunn and Lugar cogently reported that while the threat on the United States was at an all time low, the threat of unauthorized launch or nuclear accident has increased.⁶

When the Clinton administration came to power in 1992, the United States foreign policy toward Ukraine was amended strictly to marginalize the priority of the nuclear question in the bilateral military relations of both countries. The barrage of Clinton's intense international initiatives resulted in the active development of all aspects of security, defense and military cooperation with Ukraine. Clinton's National Security Strategy for a New Century claimed European security as a vital element to the U.S.'s own security:

European Stability is vital to our own security. The United States has two strategic goals in Europe. The first is to build a Europe that is fully integrated, democratic, prosperous and at peace – a realization of the vision the United States launched 50 years ago with the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Our second goal is to work with our allies and partners across the Atlantic to meet the global challenges no nation can meet alone...

There is no historical precedent for the transition underway in Russia, Ukraine and other NIS...

⁶ Popaduik Roman, *American - Ukrainian Nuclear Relations*, McNair Paper, Washington D.C.: National Defense University, 1996.

The United States strategy of engagement with each of the NIS recognizes that their transformation will be a long-term endeavor, with far reaching implications for the regional and global stability, as well as disappointments and setbacks along the way... It is in our national interest to help them build the laws, institutions and skills needed for a market democracy, to fight crime and corruption and to advance human rights and the rule of law...

The United States strategy in Russia and the NIS has made every American safer... The integration of Russia, Ukraine and other NIS with the new Europe and the international community remains a key priority... The United States remains committed to further development of the NATO-Russia relationship and the NATO-Ukraine distinctive partnership.⁷

That U.S. position by all accounts played a decisive role in shaping Ukraine's military approach to the West. From the memorandum, which defines the legal framework of Ukrainian – U.S. relations in the sphere of security and defense, to a variety of bilateral agreements in almost all areas of defense, to fundamental agreements, such as Ukrainian participation in Partnership for Peace (PfP) activities and the Ukrainian-NATO 1997 Charter, Clinton's era has defined and established the basis for the relationship of these two countries in the realm of world security.

The change of political leadership is always somehow connected with a change in a country's foreign policy approach that is subsequently followed by changes in defense policy. The events of September 11, 2001 have added a harsh political rationality to U.S. actions abroad. U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Ramsfeld has redefined in his 2001 Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) New Administration defense policy priorities abroad:

To sustain a strong coalition effort against terrorism, the United States needs to remain committed to the security of its friends and allies; to deny terrorist safe heavens in countries besides Afghanistan, it has even more reason to retain some form of a front warfighting capability;... to sustain its values it must continue support ...[for] other democracies; to keep its economy strong, it must continue to undergird global stability and commerce with its military forces... Dropping the 1997 ODR's strategic pillars of 'shape, prepare and respond' (where the concept of shaping

⁷ *A National Security Strategy for a New Century*, The White House, pp. 29-32, December 1999.

refers in part to the need to work with neutral countries) and the broader Clinton Administration notion of engagement, it divides the world clearly into those who are with us and those who are against. More specifically and normally, it lays out four goals for defense policy: to reassure allies, and dissuade, deter, or if necessary defeat the enemies.⁸

That rationality scrutinized security concerns regarding U.S. security, defense and military strategic approaches towards Ukraine. The War on Terrorism requires substantial financial expenditures. For this reason, the U.S.'s approach towards Ukraine's military takes on greater importance. Having financed the majority of its military engagements, the United States wants outcomes that are more positive in Ukraine's security approach to the West. Partial criticism and disappointment in some Ukrainian military reform and transformation achievements have appeared in U.S. mass media calling for closer scrutiny of its defense policy toward Ukraine.

Responsibility for the overall engagement strategy toward Ukraine remains fragmented. All actions are supposed to complement the Mission Performance Plan (MPP), approved by the ambassador for all federal agencies operating under the umbrella of the country team in Kiev, but MPP, NATO activity, and the U.S. European Command (EUCOM) Military contacts program all exist without one muster...

What is needed now is less lecturing, greater U.S. humility, more thoughtful organizing, rewarding positive change, and discouraging inappropriate action. Because problems cut across the entire government, neither OSD nor EUCOM can solve them alone.⁹

U.S. initiatives have tangibly concentrated on the question of the Ukrainian Armed Forces Defense reforms, specifically their conformity to NATO standards and progress towards future membership in NATO. Clinton's era of a more institutional and tolerant period of bilateral defense and the intensification of military relations was followed by Bush's more rational and structurally realistic period of a reevaluation of the priorities of military relations.

⁸ Michael E. O'Hanlon, *Defense Policy Choices for the Bush Administration 2001-05*, The Brookings Institution, White Plains, Maryland, 2002.

⁹ Timothy C. Shea, "U.S. – Ukraine Relations. Shaping on NATO Doorstep," *Joint Force Quarterly*, Autumn-Winter 2001-2002.

The U.S. security and defense policy originates from the executive and legislative branches of the government, as well as the mass media and non-governmental organizations. The U.S. Department of Defense is the main executive mechanism that implements U.S. national security and protects its national interests by deterring and defeating threats using military power. There are four main executive bodies in the case of Ukrainian – U.S. defense and military affairs:

- The Office of Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (NATO and Europe), the Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Policy) at the U.S. Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD)¹⁰
- Strategic Plans and Policy Department J-5, the Joint Chiefs of Staff¹¹
- United States European Command, Plans and Policy Directorate (ECJ5), Joint Contact Team Program (JCTP)¹²
- Defense Attaché Office, United States Embassy in Ukraine

U.S. engagement with Ukraine is generally concentrated on:

- Preserving Ukrainian independence and sovereignty
- Fulfilling its legitimate security needs
- Playing a constructive role in Ukrainian political, military and economic stability

Security questions are focused on:

- Helping Ukraine restructure its forces to make them increasingly interoperable with NATO
- Reforms of the Ukrainian defense establishment
- Institutionalization
- Practice of civilian control over the military
- Openness in the military establishment¹³

¹⁰ Under Secretary of Defense (Policy), available [online]: <http://www.defenselink.mil/policy/orgchart.html>; accessed 04 October 2002.

¹¹ The Joint Chiefs of Staff (J-5), available [online]: <http://www.dtic.mil/jcs/>; accessed 04 October 2002.

¹² United States European Command, Joint Contact Team Program (JCTP), available [online]: <http://www.eucom.mil/Directorates/ECJ5/index.htm?http://www.eucom.mil/Directorates/ECJ5/main.htm&2>; accessed 04 October 2002.

¹³ Strengthening Transatlantic Security. U.S. Strategy for the 21st Century, available [online]: www.defenselink.mil/pubs/eurostrategy2000.pdf; accessed 28 October 2002.

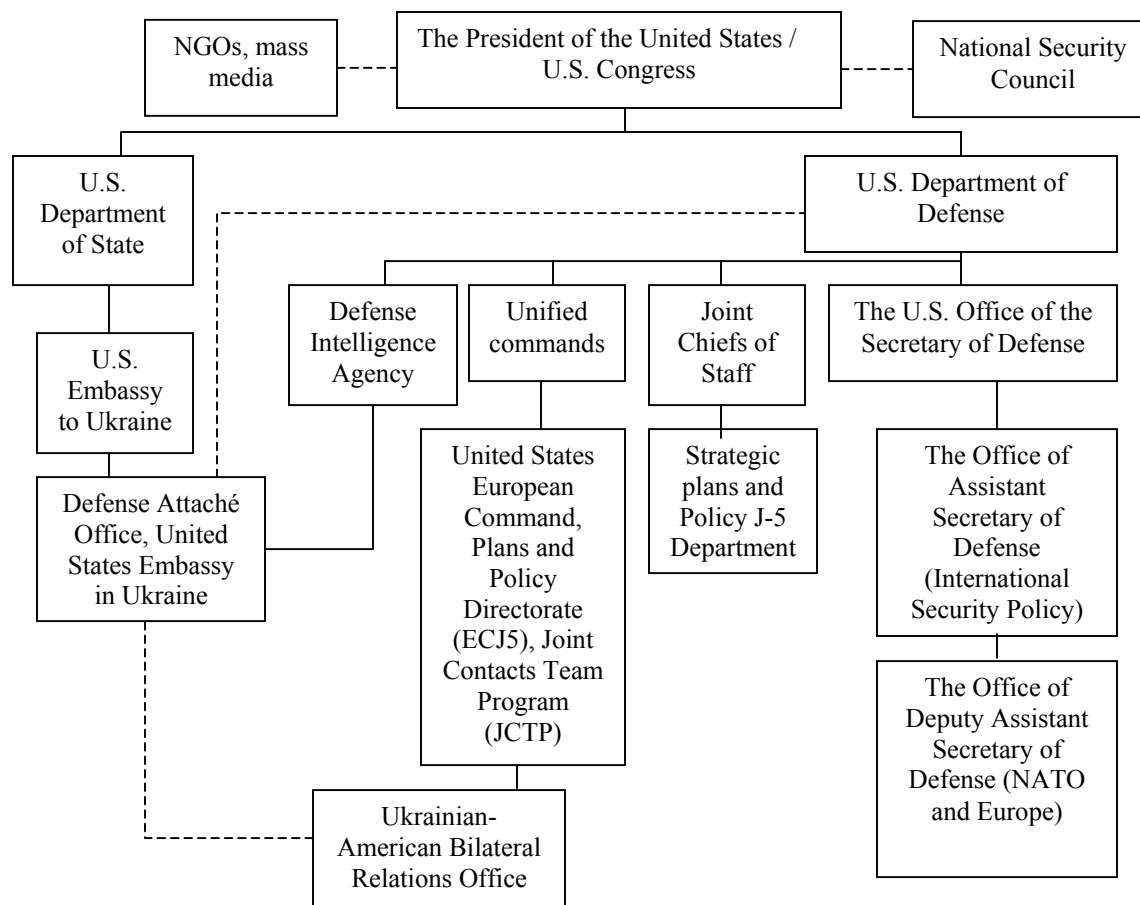


Table 1. Main U.S. Agencies and Organizations Involved with Security, Defense and Military Engagement with Ukraine.

The practical implication of the U.S. defense policy through the execution of its political-military interagency relations has always been awkward in defining and coordinating its defense engagement towards Ukraine. Several departments, such as the Department of State and Department of Defense, coordinated the existing variety of military and civilian programs directed towards the Ukrainian military. These agencies sometimes find it difficult to receive the appropriate feedback that would allow them to take the necessary coordinative actions. U.S. military cooperation mechanisms toward Ukraine also have coordination problems within the Department of Defense:

The Unified Command Plan (UCP)... induced a problem into U.S. – Ukraine military relations in that no regional CINC [Commander-in-Chief] was assigned responsibility for Ukraine... But in the U.S. military

system, CJCS [Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staffs] does not have direct command authority... Therefore, although the CJCS is powerful, unlike the regional CINCs he has at his disposal few immediate resources to execute military contact programs, and cannot simply order the CINCs to assist. This complicated my ability to construct and execute the plan. Nearly every military matter concerning Ukraine amounted to a sort of 'crisis', as it could not be handled in normally-used and understood channels.¹⁴

The question of the U.S. security and military approach towards Ukraine has always been controversial not only for politicians, but also for American political security science scholars. The two schools of thought presented by Zbigniew Brzezinski and Samuel Huntington reflect different views of U.S. and Western European security policy towards Ukraine based on strategic and cultural arguments respectively. When Brzezinski argues for closer security and strategic cooperation with Ukraine, Huntington erects an insurmountable wall of cultural and civilization differences between the West and Ukraine.

Brzezinski is a great supporter of the West's strategic engagement with Ukraine as an independent state... argues that the stability along NATO's new front line, which now lies on Poland's eastern border, depends largely on consolidation of Ukraine's nation and statehood, success in economic reforms and its ability to balance closer cooperation with NATO and the EU and economic and political relations with Russia...

A different way of thinking on Ukraine has since been advanced by Samuel Huntington... The relationships between 'the West and the rest' will be the most important factor in global security because the West will continue to impose its values on other structures... Ukraine cannot join NATO or the EU because it straddles the 'great power divide' of civilizations, being therefore unable to play the central role in the stability and security of Central Eurasia that is often ascribed to it.¹⁵

¹⁴ Simmeth Harry. U.S.-Ukraine Military Cooperation. *National Security and Defense*. #12, 2000. Available [online]: http://www.uceps.com.ua/eng/all/journal/2000_12/html/75.shtml; accessed 12 December 2002.

¹⁵ Jennifer D. P. Moroney, Ukraine's Foreign Policy on Europe's Periphery: Globalization, Transnationalism, and the Frontier, Jennifer D. P. Morroney, Taras Kuzio, and Mikhail Molchanov. *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy*. Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives, Praeger Publishers, 2002.

Henceforth, U.S. security and defense policy toward Ukraine depends tremendously on the economic, political and security conditions of the United States. The War on Terrorism has entailed the development of the National Security Strategy of the United States of America. Clinton's international institutions approach has been changed by Bush's realist dimension.

Today, the United States enjoys a position of unparalleled military strength and great economic and political influence... We seek... to create a balance of power that favors human freedom...

It is time to reaffirm the essential role of American military strength. We must build and maintain our defenses beyond challenge. Our military's highest priority is to defend the United States. To do so effectively, our military must:

- Assure our allies and friends;
- Dissuade future military competition;
- Deter threats against U.S. interests, allies, and friends; and
- Decisively defeat any adversary if deterrence fails.¹⁶

While the national military strategy remains the strategy produced under the Clinton administration, some of the new defense policy initiatives are a bit disturbing in the manner U.S. Department of Defense engagement toward Ukraine is maintained:

- A shift in geographic emphasis toward Asia generally, and, within this, a dramatic expansion of military presence and engagement in central and south Asia
- A reorientation of America's presence in Europe: although U.S. forces will remain in Europe in large numbers, these will serve a mainly political function there -- substantiating U.S. leadership of NATO -- while being made more available for actual operational use outside Europe
- With regard to alliance policy, an increased willingness to undertake military operations on a unilateral basis and increased reliance on short-term, ad hoc, or "tactical" coalitions and partnerships
- A broader and more flexible practice of military assistance to other states¹⁷

¹⁶ *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, The White House, p. 29, September 2002.

On the other hand, even now, when experiencing the worst deterioration of bilateral relations with Ukraine at a high level, the U.S. Department of Defense feels free to determine security questions directly with the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense. The recent 2002 Ukrainian Minister of Defense visit to the U.S. shows the high level of U.S. security interests towards Ukraine.

B. DEVELOPMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN POSITION

To the big extent, Ukraine's future will depend on its relations development with U.S. Despite of both sides assertion about their strategic partnership, current relations between our countries are undefined... The level and intensity of Ukraine's cooperation with U.S... is an integral indicator of presence (or absence) of political will in Ukraine to continue the course on European integration, economic and political reforms, democratic norms and principles.¹⁸

The development of a Ukrainian security and defense policy toward the U.S. may serve as a good example of Ukraine's pitfalls and progress on its way to a Western European security organization. According to Ukrainian foreign policy, the main direction of the country claims its place within the transatlantic security organization. At the same time, some other official documents discuss its out-of-military-blocks status. One way or another, the direction of Ukraine's foreign policy provides positive incentives toward its western aspirations. For Ukrainian politics, as well as its security policy, close cooperation with the United States has always been associated with Ukraine's affiliation with western European institutions. Subsequently, the deterioration of Ukraine's relations with the U.S. resulted in the slowdown of relations with a majority of western European countries.

The main requirement to employ Ukrainian foreign policy is to fully and effectively provide the country's national interests... Strategic and geo-political interests, which connected with Ukrainian national security providing and defending its political independence... To provide stability of Ukraine's international position. To keep country's territorial integrity

¹⁷ Carl Conetta, The Pentagon's New Budget, New Strategy, and New War, Project on Defense Alternatives Briefing Report #12, 25 June 2002, PDA Project on Defense Alternatives. Available [on-line]: <http://www.comw.org/pda/0206newwar.html>; accessed 02 February 2003.

¹⁸ Oleg Bilous, "The position of 'Batkivshina' political fraction in Ukraine Supreme Council as to Ukraine's strategic partnership," National Security and Defense, v. 12, 2000, available [online]: http://www.uceps.com.ua/eng/all/journal/2000_12/html/75.shtml; accessed 11 November 2002.

and inviolability of its borders...Ukraine takes principle of international peace integrity and considers that the threat to any country national security is the threat to world's peace and general security. In its foreign policy Ukraine provides such approach as 'security to itself through security to all'... Special meaning for Ukraine is its relations with the United States of America as a country, which policy significantly influences on international event development... Ukraine comes forward with the idea of creation comprehensive international system of universal and whole-European security and considers its membership in such organizations as a basic component of its national security.¹⁹

One weakness of Ukraine when compared in the context of the U.S. concerning political documents is that U.S. foreign policy and national security papers are updated almost every year. The U.S. is thus able to successfully adjust its foreign and security policy toward the world's recent security environment. From the very beginning, the Ukrainian foreign and security policy has failed to do so, and thus presented an ambiguity and vagueness in the course of shaping its climate with the U.S. To consider such a situation as a purely Ukrainian mistake would be wrong. It is more obvious to state that it serves as a typical chain of circumstances that shaped the development of Ukraine as an independent state. In contradistinction to the U.S., the development of Ukraine's position in security and defense areas may be presented in two close but still distinct periods: *shaping Ukrainian security and defense policy toward the U.S., 1992-2002; and the security and defense cooperation with the U.S. through the prism of Ukraine's future membership in NATO.*

Since Ukrainian independence, military institutions were built from scratch. Western aspirations dominated Ukrainian military circles when dealing with instability during the first days of the creation of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. As the first Ukrainian Minister of Defense K. Morozov recalls:

The Ukrainian Armed Forces from the first days of its existence has been faced with economic crisis – the limitation of its budget that has influenced materiel, the integration of military-civil relations... The Ukrainian Armed Forces today has great authority in Europe and in the world. It cooperates with many governments and armies in Europe, the

¹⁹ About Ukraine's Main Directions of Foreign Policy, Ukrainian Supreme Council Resolution, v. 3360-XII, 2 July 1993.

U.S., and Canada. Ukraine is special partner with NATO as a fundamental element of European security... Ukraine, as a contributor of European stability and security, has achieved this position due to the stability and authority of its armed forces.²⁰

Given the freedom to determine its foreign policy, structurally Ukraine chose the traditional concept of executive power distribution on security and defense issues within the defense agency, general staff and the Ministry of Defense.²¹

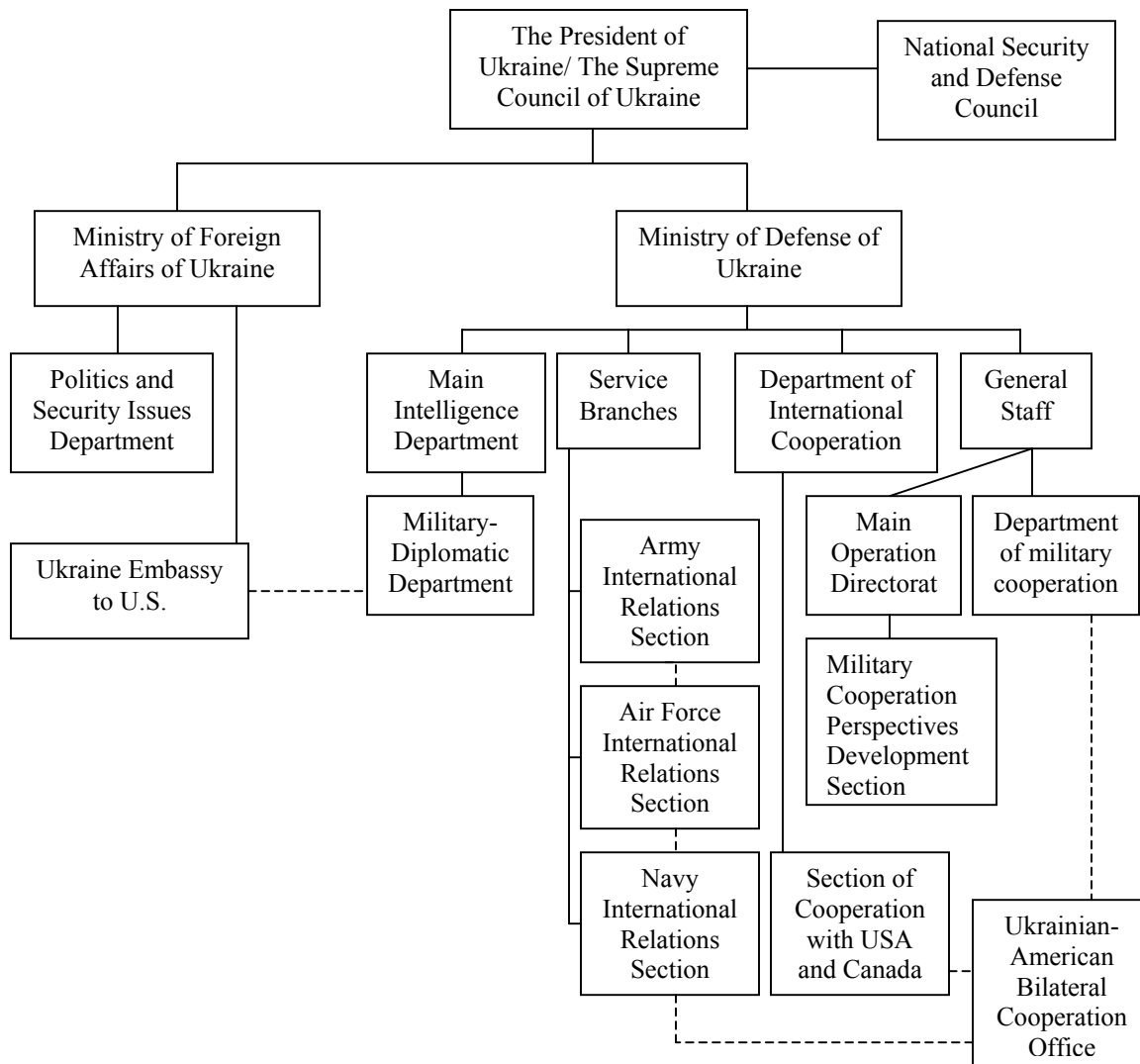


Table 2. Main Ukrainian Agencies Responsible for Security, Defense and Military Relations with the U.S.

²⁰ Konstantyn P. Morozov, *Above and Beyond. From Soviet General to Ukrainian State Builder*, Ukrainian Research Institute, Harvard University, Harvard University Press, 2000.

²¹ Ministry of Defense of Ukraine, official Web-site, (English – old version; new version – in Ukrainian). Available [on-line]: <http://www.comw.org/pda/0206newwar.html>; accessed 27 February 2003.

The presented structure demonstrates the adequate potential of executive elements to effectively react to producing, evaluating and adjusting the entire realm of bilateral relations. However, in reality, its practical and functional correspondence still lacks desirable results. In the area of the practical application of Ukrainian – U.S. relations, the amount of uncertainty considerably shaped the initial Ukrainian position on security issues toward the U.S. despite the Ukrainian claim of the nature of its strategic partnership.

The close international relations between the West European states conducted according to high standards bring about a situation of coercion development in which an unstructured society and an inefficient state feel themselves uncertain and not at home. In Ukraine, this preserve anti-Western attitudes both among a portion of the elite and population at large, and in exaggerating the importance of its own political and diplomatic efforts and ability of the agreements concluded to change our actual position on international arena.²²

The end of the first period has shown a gradual retreat from the uncertainty of the Ukrainian position to join NATO and its lack of understanding of the majority of Western perceptions. According to the polls conducted by the Ukrainian Center of Economic and Political Studies in 2000, about 66% of the Ukrainian population and experts consider Ukrainian – American cooperation as strategic, and is second after cooperation with Russia. Moreover, security and defense cooperation is second and third respectively in the polls after economic cooperation according to the population and experts.²³

The events of September 11th have accelerated Ukraine and U.S. security and defense needs in the creation of a global antiterrorist alliance. In response to these events, the logical continuation of Ukrainian participation in the Partnership for Peace program resulted in the Ukrainian declaration for NATO's future membership.

²² Oleksandr Dergachov, "Determinants and illusions of Strategic Partnership," *National Security and Defense*, v. 12, 2000, available [online]: http://www.uceps.com.ua/eng/all/journal/2000_12/html/75.shtml; accessed 11 November 2002.

²³ Ukraine's Strategic Partnership with other States. Approaches and Estimations. *National Security and Defense*, v. 12, 2000, available [online]: http://www.uceps.com.ua/eng/all/journal/2000_12/html/75.shtml; accessed 11 November 2002.

This thesis also argues that Ukraine's recent aspirations toward NATO can positively change the Ukrainian military establishment to a more sober estimation of goals and objectives of its military cooperation with the U.S. Concentrating its main efforts on the development of true democratic civil-military relations devoid of false estimates and context will significantly help the process of the reformation of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. The strategy of Ukrainian - U.S. military relations should be directed toward the realistic fulfillment of the role and place of the Ukrainian Armed Forces within the transatlantic security organization.

It is necessary to know and understand the following. Political relations in Ukraine dominate the general climate of the entire spectrum of relations. However, relations in the security and defense arenas seemed to be quite independent during their existence. The reason for such behavior may lie in the mutual security interests of both countries in Europe. Relations between Ukraine and the United States in the security and defense sphere more obviously will continue to be quite independent of the path followed for NATO relations. Such paths may be explained by the willingness of the U.S. to have European security guarantees other than NATO's, and Ukraine's recognition of that specific security need. The Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs, A. Zlenko, emphasized the character of such relations:

It is well known that Ukraine and the United States are presented in different weight-categories; however they have mutual interests as partners. That interest has a strategic nature. And I do not think that existing problems, whatever difficulty they are, dominate over strategic considerations.²⁴

U.S. and Ukrainian strategic considerations were recently more explicitly reflected in their defense and military relations. To review and analyze such relations would significantly contribute to the strategy of the two country's current defense and military relations and would make it possible to provide more information concerning possible future development.

²⁴ Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs answers to questions of Korrespondent.Net Internet edition, 20 December 2002, available [on-line]: <http://www.korrespondent.net>; accessed 25 December 2002.

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III. POLITICAL-MILITARY AND MILITARY RELATIONS

A. DEFENSE COOPERATION

The main goal of politico-military relations is to maintain the national security policies of two countries in the international arena, and more specifically, in the Eastern European region. In geopolitical and strategic ways, Ukraine has found itself at a crossroads for European and Asian economic and security considerations. As a result, Ukrainian – U.S. defense and military cooperation has become one of the first areas of bilateral relations between the two countries.

This chapter analyses the state of affairs in Ukrainian – U.S. politico-military relations by investigating the structural and functional positions. The area of politico-military relations is intertwined in a complex way with pure military and technical-military relations. However, the given analysis tries to separate defense and military relations in order to thoroughly investigate their outcomes. As foreign relations are divided into economic, political and cultural areas, relations in the defense and military sphere can also be divided into its structural components. The analysis of such components will be able to demonstrate the strong and weak sides of Ukrainian – U.S. defense and military relations as well as possible ways to further their development.

Ukraine's modern strategic initiatives are directed towards future NATO membership. This question has become dominant since Ukrainian National Security and Defense Council made an appropriate decision in May 2002.

Commenting on Ukraine's decision, the NSDC [National Security and Defense Council] Secretary, Yevhen Marchuk, said it would be 'purposeless and even harmful' if the country further kept its status as a neutral country.

'The [NSDC] council agreed that a long-term strategy must be worked out that would enable Ukraine to join the collective security system upon which NATO is based.'²⁵

²⁵ BBC News World Edition, Ukraine Declares Plans to Join NATO, available [on-line]: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2005036.stm>; accessed 23 February 2003.

Even before Ukraine's aspiration to join NATO, Ukrainian – U.S. military relations was marked as *strategic* according to the estimation of Ukrainian and American political leaders. Moreover, when Ukrainian aspirations for Euro Atlantic security institution membership are foremost, the defense and military relations of the countries do not show a tendency to decline for the sake of the former. The terms *relations*, *cooperation* and *strategic cooperation* are used as the determinants in defining a current state of Ukrainian – U.S. military affairs in mass media, political and official declarations. These terms will be further used in the thesis to stress the level of importance of bilateral involvement in the defense and military affairs of two countries. When the term *relations* is familiar, the terms *cooperation* and *strategic cooperation* imply that the special legal and practical base supported by official documents and an intensity of bilateral events in the security area exists. The U.S.'s security interests in Europe are not only limited to its participation in NATO, which mostly explains the U.S. military and security behavior toward Ukraine. Klaus Nauman explicitly defines U.S. strategic interests in Europe:

First, the American military presence in Europe means true forward defense of the United States and ensures the vital control of the sea lines of communications. Second, the American presence strengthens a unique alliance, NATO, which is after all, the only alliance in which all nations share the same values. Third, such a presence enhances American strategic flexibility, serving to extend U.S. global reach. And fourth, the American presence in Europe ties together the two most potent economic areas. This link will lead over time to increased cooperation and reduction of competition. The result could be an economic global dominance that no one could challenge. An American presence on the continent best serves U.S. strategic interests and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future.²⁶

Therefore, U.S. security and military policy toward Ukraine is the result of well-balanced political, economical and military considerations. At the same time, the Ukrainian position is less balanced because the country lacks general state expertise that subsequently reflects Ukrainian needs in defense and military relations with the U.S. As

²⁶ *The Future of the American Military Presence in Europe*, Editor: Lloyd J. Matthews, U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, May 2000, available [online]: <http://carlisle-www.army.mil/usassi/welcome.html>; accessed 22 October 2002.

a result, it was not a secret that the U.S. logically dominated either strategically or financially in bilateral defense and military cooperation during the last decade. These processes are still underway, and to characterize them negatively, by blaming only Ukraine for its inefficiency in conducting well-determined strategy of its defense and military relations with the U.S., will be too premature. Although, the U.S. acted less vaguely, the discrepancy between U.S. military and civilian executive bodies in shaping U.S. military engagement toward Ukraine proved to not be consequent all the time.

Despite these difficulties, Ukrainian – U.S. defense and military relations are evidence of the major progress that has been achieved by both sides in maintaining post Cold War European security in a specific European region. From the time the U.S. pressed for Ukraine's unilateral nuclear disarmament, to strategic cooperation and recent political difficulties on a high level in bilateral relations, these events surprisingly have not affected negatively the defense and military arena, which demonstrates a strong tendency towards fostering Ukrainian and U.S. mutual interests. It may initially seem that the U.S. European aspirations toward Europe could undergo serious considerations; however, according to Defense Secretary Ramsfeld September 2001 Quadrennial Defense Review, strategy-driven choices for American security in Europe remain on the same or even greater importance. The 2001 Quadrennial Defense Review renewed U.S. interest in Europe, stressing the role of the U.S. military in maintaining a security posture:

...The United States remains seriously engaged in European affairs, and the Armed Forces will be an important tool in the transatlantic relationship... U.S. European Command... responsible for monitoring and responding to events in all Europe, including many of former Soviet Union... the United States would be better served by a force posture designed specifically to address the existing and likely security environment in this region... American forces in Europe also have worked closely with such nations as Ukraine... A significant American presence in Europe is essential to demonstrating the enduring nature of the transatlantic relationship and to providing a continuing incentive for the Europeans to ensure that their military forces can operate effectively with the U.S. military in the future.²⁷

²⁷ *Quadrennial Defense Review 2001, Strategy-Driven Choices for America's Security*, pp. 237-242.

The timeframe for Ukrainian – U.S. political-military relations has been developing unsteadily, and sometimes, controversially. However, practical outcomes of the last decade show significant progress as relations influence the Ukrainian Armed Forces transition to democratic civil-military relations and help Ukraine claim its role within European and a global security system.

One of the main elements of cooperation, the *Ukrainian – American Bilateral Working Group (BWG)* initially called the *Colonels Conference*, was organized in 1993 and soon became the main element to review, oversee and make propositions concerning questions on future cooperative development. The U.S. unfading interest toward Ukrainian nuclear disarmament led to the ‘Agreement between Ukraine and the United States of America as to Providing Ukraine with Strategic Nuclear Weapons Liquidation’s Help, and also Nuclear Biologic Chemical (NBC) Weapons Counterproliferation.’ The Ukrainian Foreign Minister A.M. Zlenko and the U.S. State Secretary W. Kristopher signed the Agreement on 25 October 1993.

The result of BWG’s active involvement in development and control processes, in 1996 defense and military relations, has received a significant shift toward progressing. As soon as Ukraine joined NATO’s *Partnership for Peace Program (PfP)* – multinational exercises, called *Peace Shield*, they have become a calling card of the U.S.’s help to Ukraine in conducting multinational professional military training.

High level Ukrainian – U.S. political relations skyrocketed on 19 September 1996 when both sides announced the creation of the *Ukrainian – U.S. Binational Commission*, more notably known as *the Kuchma – Gore Commission*. It is a political, economic and military mechanism to coordinate the U.S. and Ukraine bilateral relations and a variety of U.S. programs for Ukraine. Subsequently, the BWG, as an integral part of the Commission, had become one of the rapidly progressing mechanisms. Bilateral defense and military cooperation had been stated as “one of the largest in Europe” by the Kuchma - Gore Commission’s Joint Statement:

The two sides noted that the scope and size of the bilateral U.S.-Ukrainian defense and military cooperation program is one of the largest in Europe and is testimony to the strength of the strategic partnership of the two

countries... The sides looked forward to the planned cooperation to help Ukraine establish a non-commissioned officer corps.²⁸

The Committee on Security Issues and the BWG within the framework of the Kuchma - Gore Commission soon became the primary bilateral forum to discuss international and national security issues. The questions concerned Ukrainian participation in European and Transatlantic security structures, and strengthening Ukraine's security in the international arena by supporting its military and defense reforms, which were substantial to committee meetings. The committees have also highlighted Ukrainian – U.S. bilateral military and defense cooperation as an essential part of Ukraine's fulfillment of the Ukraine – NATO Charter and extended PfP program. The Kuchma - Gore Commission had subsequently produced an even more promising and optimistic statement:

United States – Ukraine cooperation in the security field... as well as military contacts, are an integral part of United States – Ukraine *strategic partnership*. The sides stressed the importance of the continuing support for the reforms of Ukraine's Armed Forces. During the past year, cooperation has begun in a number of [new] important areas. Practical cooperation has started in the further development, with United States support, of the Yavoriv Training Area for training peacekeeping forces and holding joint exercises by the Armed Forces of Ukraine, NATO member states, and partner countries. The sides collaborate in promoting the NATO decision on setting up at Yavoriv a training center under the PfP program.²⁹

During the next meeting in Newport, Rhode Island, in June 2000, both sides discussed and initiated new directions for defense and military cooperation such as:

- Defense reform in Ukraine (Ukrainian Armed Forces professionalisation, joint program of military education development)
- Ukrainian Armed Forces Joint Assessment Program
- Joint Consultative Economic Committee (Military Base Closure Program, RAND research on economic and defense questions), military cooperation assessment (Ukraine- American military-to-military contacts program)

²⁸ U.S.-Ukraine Binational Commission Joint Statement, available [online]: <http://www.nti.org/db/nisprofs/ukraine/fulltext/kuchgore/state1.htm>; assessed 03 December 2002.

²⁹ U.S.-Ukraine Binational Commission Joint Statement, available [online]: <http://www.nti.org/db/nisprofs/ukraine/fulltext/kuchgore/state1.htm>; assessed 03 December 2002.

- The first year of *Ukrainian – American Military Liaison Team* operations, *Ukrainian – Polish – American Trilateral Cooperation* and Yavoriv peacekeeping exercises
- Defense aid such as Foreign Military Sales Program (FMF) and International Military Education Program (IMET), cooperation in the area of military science and technology

Unfortunately, the new White House Administration in 2001 unilaterally suspended Ukrainian – U.S. Binational Commission activities and proposed to rename the BWG *the Ukrainian – American Committee on Security Issues*. Generally, the Ukraine – U.S. mechanism for political-military cooperation remained untouched. However, from a civil-military relations point of view, its ability to arrange and coordinate bilateral economic and political activities with the military has been lost. Civilian and military professionals, mostly represented by the defense agencies, constitute a limited possibility to influence bilateral relations on the legislative level.

BWG 2001's session intensified joint programs in the areas of peacekeeping activities, joint programs and joint defense analysis, exactly as both sides agreed:

- Conducting joint defense analysis in Ukraine
- Further development of *Ukrainian – Polish – U.S. trilateral military cooperation*, and paying attention to the questions of joint peacekeeping exercises at the Yavoriv training center
- Further transition of Ukraine's Armed Forces to a contract manning system
- Continuing work in the area of military education and personnel policy
- Continuing preparation of professional noncommissioned (NCO) corps
- Furthering of cooperation between the U.S. Department of Defense, the Ukrainian National Defense Academy and its Peacekeeping Center
- Continuing the military bases closure program and the questions of its adaptation economically
- Furthering joint work on environmental security issues
- Continuing work on military-technical and scientific cooperation
- Creation of *Joint Consultative Group* in the FMF Program
- Continuing work on *the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program (CTR)*
- Development of the *Joint Work Document* as the basic paper of further bilateral defense and military cooperation

The BWG session in 2002 scrutinized the applicability of Ukrainian – U.S. relations in defense and military spheres in the aftermath of the events of September 11th. Firstly, the terrorist's threat to obtain weapons of mass destruction emphasized the importance of the work of the CTR Program. Secondly, the Americans have widely encouraged the Ukrainian decision to join NATO. It was positively expressed at BWG's senior-level meetings. Thirdly, the Ukrainian side has been actively involved in international antiterrorist activity that significantly accentuated the level of joint work in the security area. Fourthly, the outcomes of the Joint Defense Assessment have allowed the creation of the *Ukrainian Rapid Reaction Forces* with practical incentives.

Meetings of senior-level officials emphasized that the size of the Ukrainian involvement in bilateral cooperation plays a positive role concerning the question of Ukrainian membership in NATO where the U.S. occupies a leading position. Ukrainian entry into European economic and security structures, especially in NATO, is mentioned to be of high priority for Ukraine's foreign policy.

The BWG session also marked the next achievements in the work on joint initiatives:

- Joint Defense Assessment results provided to Ukraine will help realize the goals mentioned in *the State Program of the Reformation and Development of the Ukraine Armed Forces until 2005*
- The concept and issues connected with the creation of the Rapid Reaction Forces
- Ukrainian – Polish – American Trilateral cooperation – both sides agreed on the importance of its further long-term development, its support in conducting the defense reform according to NATO standards, the usage of Ukrainian – Polish peacekeeping battalion experience during the training of Ukrainian peacekeeping units, and conducting trilateral staff talks
- Both sides discussed FMF future usage rules as financing the Ukrainian portion of the Ukrainian-Polish peacekeeping battalion and the FMF future reorientation toward the sponsoring of the Ukrainian Rapid Reaction Forces. Both sides also revised the Joint Consultative Group's first year's work on the FMF Program
- The program for the transition of Ukraine's Armed Forces to a contract Manning system and the preparation of a professional NCO corps– both sides agreed that the U.S. will provide financial and technical support to create the automatic accounting system in military recruiting centers and contractor

financial support. Both sides also agreed to the possibility for Ukrainian NCO instructors to train at U.S. NCO Academies

- Both sides discussed further technical support for the Yavoriv PfP training center
- Both sides emphasized the importance of further conferences about military education and personnel policy reforms of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. A critical analysis of the previous work and the development of propositions for future activity in this field are essential to building well balanced and a strong defense policy-oriented system. Both sides also stressed the need for maintaining information by providing the Ukrainians with computer systems
- Both sides criticized military base closures and their environmental clean-up afterwards and further economical adaptation to civilian life because of the lack of practical applications. The Ukrainians proposed the draft of a project in this area that includes questions concerning the transformation of military bases into commercial and industrial zones and resolves their environmental problems
- Both sides discussed further destruction of the infrastructure of weapons of mass destruction and agreed on a new phase of conducting this disarmament, which includes the fuel components of the SS-24 missiles of strategic bombers. According to the mutual agreement on Cooperative Threat Reduction Program expansion – in the area of biological weapons elements counterproliferation and the trade of illegal weapons of mass destruction
- Both sides agreed to pay a significant amount of attention to the programs for the social development programs of the Armed Forces such as the development of the ‘Olive-tree branch’ program to help military psychological rehabilitation in Ukraine

The main initiatives and new dimensions of Ukraine – American defense and military cooperation were introduced in the *Joint Work Document* as previously agreed upon. It was also agreed that further cooperation would be closely tied to the goals and objectives of Ukrainian national defense and military reform. Both sides have stressed that defense and military cooperation continues to develop as a vital element of a Ukrainian and American partnership in the security area. Bilateral Working Groups, as the main originators of ideas in defense and military relations, have contributed significantly to the ability of Ukrainian and U.S. civilians and the military to work together to resolve questions on defense and military issues. The results of joint work are crucial, and can range from developing the first bilateral military activities to

implementing programs on defense reform. At the same time, the thesis argues that reemphasizing the importance of the gamut of bilateral issues in the implementation of comprehensive development and control of democratic civil-military relations elements would contribute to a gradual increase in the efficiency of the functioning of the Ukraine defense system.

The exchange visits between Ukrainian and U.S. senior defense and military officials play discernible roles in shaping important decisions concerning military and defense cooperation. The visit of the First Ukrainian Minister of Defense, General-Colonel Morozov, in April 1992 to the United States opened a new era for Ukraine as an independent European security player in the international arena. Further exchanges between the heads of the military agencies have demonstrated that this area of defense cooperation plans plays a significant role by showing countries mutual emphasis on accepting common methods concerning bilateral security, defense and military issues. Chronologically, the goals and outcomes of high defense level exchange visits are presented in the following table.

Year of event	Comments
April 11, 1992	Ukrainian Minister of Defense Kostiantyn Morozov visited USA first time in Ukrainian history at the invitations U.S. Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney. Morozov visits military installations
June 6-7, 1993	U.S. Secretary of Defense Les Aspen visited Ukraine to discuss security matters. Maked proposals concerning dismantling Ukrainian nuclear weapons to be followed closely by dismantling Russian ones, reimbursing Ukraine for the uranium, and the possibility of sealing U.S. commitment to Ukraine's security by means of a charter of U.S.-Ukrainian relations
July 25-30, 1993	Ukrainian Minister of Defense Kostiantyn Morozov visited USA and signed the 'Memorandum of Mutual Understanding and Cooperation in the Area of Defense and Military Relations Between Ukrainian Ministry of Defense and United State Department of Defense.' on June 27
March 21-23, 1994	During a visit to Ukraine, U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry promised \$100 million in aid for the denuclearization and military conversion process
June 13-19, 1994	Ukrainian Defense Minister Vitally Radetskyi visit to the U.S., with agreements reached on broadening military cooperation
November 13-16, 1994	Ukrainian Vice-Prime Minister and soon Minister of Defense Valeriy

Year of event	Comments
	Shmarov visited U.S. to formalize the mechanism and aims of aid to Ukraine through the Nunn-Lugar Act
March 31-April 1, 1995	U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry visited Ukraine and moved past issues of nuclear disarmament to questions of social protection, security and military and economic cooperation. Secretary Perry watched the destruction of an SS- 19 missile in Pervomaiske
May, 1995	U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry visited Yavoriv training center in Western Ukraine to review 'Peace Shield – 95' - the first U.S.- Ukraine joint peacekeeping exercise under the PfP program. 2-week training program
January 4-5, 1996	U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry visited Ukraine. Signed agreement with Ukrainian Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov on closer military cooperation between U.S. and Ukraine. Discussed NATO expansion and possibility of trilateral military training exercises during meeting with Shmarov and Grachev. Also met with President Kuchma. Secretary Perry, Ukrainian Minister of Defense Shmarov, and Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev went to Pervomaiske, Mikolaiv Oblast, Ukraine to watch destruction of an ICBM missile silo. (The third of 130 to be dismantled by November 1998, according to START-I treaty
April 28-May 2, 1997	Ukrainian Minister of Defense Col.-Gen. Oleksandr Kuzmuk's first visit to the U.S. Met with U.S. Secretary of Defense William Cohen. Ukraine received \$47 million of assistance to dismantle nuclear missile silos and transportation facilities/ devices
July 11-12, 1997	Official visit of U.S. Secretary of Defense William Cohen to Ukraine to discuss prospects for military cooperation. Secretary Cohen visited the joint military exercises 'Cooperative Neighbor-97' and met with chief Ukraine Security and Defense Council (USDC) Valerii Horbulin and Ukrainian Defense Minister
November 10, 1998	Ukrainian Minister of Defense Col.-Gen. Oleksandr Kuzmuk's visit to the USA. The sides reiterated mutual interest in continuing and deepening bilateral cooperation. The Minister for Defense and the U.S. Secretary of Defense signed a plan of cooperation between the respective state agencies for the period through 1999
July 31, 1999	U.S. Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen's visit to Ukraine. Defense agencies' chiefs met concerning the continued progress in the relationship of military and defense matters
March 29 – April 1, 2000	Ukrainian Minister of Defense Col.-Gen. Oleksandr Kuzmuk's visit to the USA. The Agreement about military-technical information exchange has signed
June 4-5, 2001	New U.S. White House Administration's Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld political visit to Ukraine. Rumsfeld assured Ukraine in further deepening bilateral security, defense and military cooperation. Chiefs of

Year of event	Comments
	defense ministries elaborated future perspective direction of bilateral defense cooperation and its legal basis. U.S. Defense Secretary met with Ukrainian president L. Kuchma and chief of USDC Y. Marchuk
October 23-26, 2002	Ukrainian Minister of Defense V. Shkivcheko's first visit to USA. Discussed January – April, 2003 NATO's Joint Defense Assessment of Ukrainian Armed Forces, U.S. aid to Ukrainian Rapid Reaction Forces, terrorism issues and the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program

Table 3. Ukrainian Ministry of Defense and U.S. Department of Defense Chiefs Exchange Visits.

* From: The Courtesy of Department of International Cooperation Ministry of Defense of Ukraine and Ukrainian Embassy to the U.S.

The frequency of the visits between the U.S. and Ukrainian Department of Defense visits and their practical context exceeds any of the other exchange visits between Ukrainian ministries and U.S. departments can be characterized by the level of cooperation that is the most strategically important level for both countries. The security concerns of the U.S. in Ukraine as well as Ukrainian reciprocity in furthering defense and military relations with the U.S. have also been considered during visits at a high ministerial and departmental level. The exchange visits mainly focused on the questions of Ukrainian nuclear disarmament during the first years the military departments heads were in office. However, the subsequent development in relations played a positive role in discovering other directions for bilateral relations in the areas of defense and military practical applications.

Brent Scowcroft has stated in hindsight that it was a mistake for the United States to have concentrated so much of its bilateral effort on the nuclear question. The Clinton administration had the benefit of the travails of its predecessor and, while it started off on sour note, appears to have steadied the relationship and embarked on a broader relationship with Ukraine. This development is a course for optimism.³⁰

³⁰ Roman Popadiuk, *American-Ukrainian Nuclear Relations*, McNair Paper 55, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, Washington DC, October 1996.

Ukrainian – U.S. contacts at a high defense level had intensified during the Clinton Administration years and a significant amount of attention was centered on security and military development questions.

The next important phase of defense and military cooperation between Ukraine and the U.S. is participation in joint programs. The mechanism for bilateral defense and military interactions in the programs were mostly directed at helping Ukraine realize *the State Programme of Ukrainian Armed Forces Reformation and Development until 2005* and *the State Programme of Ukrainian Armed Forces Building and Development until 2005*, which:

...Became the first comprehensive document, which determines priority areas and goals for military development. More importantly, it linked and harmonized military development to the general process of State development... [The goal of the programs is] The establishment of the modern AF, which will be optimum in strength, mobile, well equipped, supported and trained, capable of fulfilling their missions in any environment and at the same time not a burden on country's budget.³¹

The main elements of bilateral defense and military efforts concentrated on the participation of countries in the following programs:

- Cooperative Threat Reduction Program
- Defense Resources operation and Planning Program
- International Military Education Program
- Noncommissioned officers Development Program
- Foreign Military Sales and Finance Programs with “Warsaw initiative” program involvement”
- Harvard’s National Security Program for Senior Officials
- George Marshall Center of Security Studies program
- International Health Protection and Resources Program Medical Cooperation Program
- Military Education Development Program until 2005
- Military Communication and Information Program

³¹ The State programme of the Ukrainian Armed Forces reform and development until 2005. Available [online]: http://www.mil.gov.ua/old/eng/derg_prog/index.htm; accessed January 16, 2003.

- Ukrainian Armed Forces Transition to Contract Manning System Program
- Military Bases Closure and its Ecological Clean up Program
- Joint Defense Assessment Program

The CTR Program was implemented as a result of the Agreement between Ukrainian Ministry of Defense and U.S. Department of Defense as to Providing Ukraine with Technical Means and Services with Connection to Strategic Nuclear Weapons Dismantling from December 5th, 1993, the Program of Phased Reduction and Liquidation Strategic Offence Weapons in Ukraine from November 16, 1993. The CTR program includes the elimination of Ballistic Missile Complexes; of the infrastructure of weapons of mass destruction, of the toxic fuel components of strategic missiles and of combat strategic delivery vehicles. This program has obtained significant financial aid from the United States.³²

The *Defense Resources Operation and Planning Program (DROP)* was directed based on the exchange of strategically well-grounded thoughts and a system analyses within the framework of the allocation and operation of defense resources. The program also defines the main direction and perspectives of cooperation in the areas of defense economy, scientifically substantiated models of military budget building and development. The goals of the program elements are to transition to a program-oriented method of defense resources allocation and operation, which is widely employed in the defense agencies of western countries. The DROP includes a variety of sub-programs that initially support the main program initiatives. These initiatives are the program of revitalizing military arsenals and ammunition dumps from 1995 until 2015, *the Program of Military Aviation Restoration and Modernization*; the program on converting military areas and the Program on the utilization of outdated ammunition, weapons and military materials.

Soon after Ukrainian – U.S. military cooperation was established, according to a mutual agreement, Ukraine has become an active participant of the U.S.-founded

³² More information on Ukraine's WMD removal contains in Roman Popadiuk's paper. American-Ukrainian Nuclear Relations. McNair Paper 55, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University, Washington DC, October 1996.

International Military Education and Training Program. The IMET program generally comprises three phases: in-country language preparation, language training within the U.S. and follow-on training in U.S. military facilities.

Year	Quantity
1992	1
1993	2
1994	14
1995	15
1996	14
1997	16
1998	22
1999	27
2000	29
2001	54

Table 4. Ukrainian Civilian and Military IMET-Trained Personnel in the U.S. 1992 – 2001.

* From: The Courtesy of Main Personnel Department Ministry of Defense of Ukraine and Office of Defense Cooperation U.S. Embassy to Ukraine.

The IMET program is a cornerstone of providing Ukraine with civilian and military professionals able to understand and adapt to the Western military and political climate. Many officers still occupy important positions within the Ukrainian Armed Forces while many have already left military service. Such cadres of existing problems are the area of responsibility of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, –and shrinking military budgets and no future perspectives, cause them to decide in favor of civilian life.

The greatest fault with international military education training is the belief that many officer-graduates will rise to positions of prominence in their armed forces. IMET does not require retention in exchange for free education, and Ukraine has done poorly at using these highly trained officers. Transparency in the nomination process, clear and detailed guidelines outlining minimum qualifications, and accountability for

retaining and assigning officers should be instituted as prerequisites for IMET.³³

Taking into account the aforementioned issues, the policy towards the use of the IMET program should be revised in such a way that more qualified candidates are selected now and in the future. It is also true that the questions raised are not completely the area of responsibility of the Ministry of Defense. Civilian and military leadership efforts should be directed towards encouraging military service in order to prevent the danger of a loss of military professionals.

The Noncommissioned officers (NCO) Development Program that began in 1997 is relatively new to the Ukrainian military establishment. The program places significant attention on the proficiency and preparedness level of the Ukraine Armed Forces NCO Corps as the main functional element of the daily activity of the armed forces. Ukraine has inherited a relatively weak NCO Corps, mostly because of the increased role of officers in the Soviet Armed Forces. The program is anticipating assistance from the U.S. to conduct Ukrainian NCO training in Ukraine as well as in the U.S. and is directly related to the *State Programme of Ukrainian Armed Forces Development and Reformation until 2005* that envisages that military NCO Corps reform will occur. The professional NCO Corps is estimated be the core of Ukrainian Armed Forces personnel, which are expected to be under full contract until 2015. According to the latest data, 35 NCO's received their professional training in the U S., while 11 had served in Ukrainian peacekeeping battalions. The program helped create the NCO Academies in the Ukrainian Army and Air Force.

The Foreign Military Sales and Finance Programs, with the help of "Warsaw initiative" funds were implemented according to President Clinton's 1994 initiative whose goal was financial support to PfP-member countries. Ukrainian - U.S. military training programs and participation in international exercises, such as "Peace Shield" and "Sea Breese", were conducted on Ukrainian territory with funding from these "Warsaw initiative" funds. The FMF and FMS programs also provided the Ukrainian

³³ Timothy C. Shea, "U.S. – Ukraine Relations. Shaping on NATO Doorstep," Joint Force Quarterly, Autumn-Winter 2001-2002.

peacekeeping battalion in Kosovo with financial support estimated at \$7.6 million up to 2001. Throughout 2001, during the BWG session, both sides agreed to create a consultative group, expected to define the priority of expenditures in the context of existing programs to better benefit Ukraine's inquiries and to make it possible to direct material and technical support according to the key priorities of the Ukraine Armed Forces.

The *Harvard National Security Program for Ukrainian Senior Officials*³⁴ began in 1997. The program is specifically dedicated to helping Ukrainian military and civilian governmental officials who work in the area of national security and defense with modern European and world security system incentives. It includes a Harvard University course of lectures; activities at NATO's headquarters, visiting the U.S. Naval Base Norfolk, the U.S. Department of Defense and the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London.

The *George Marshall European Center of Security Studies Program*³⁵ supports the study of efforts in the area of security problems such as resident courses for Ukrainian civilians and the military, collaboration in the '*Electronic Library*', and the project of the consortium of defense academies.

The remainder of the joint programs encompasses areas of professional responsibility. Generally, each program pursues specific goals and objectives that can only be applied to specific areas. However, the progress of each individual program contributes to all bilateral cooperation of other countries. Unfortunately, the mechanism, which is able to effectively trace such contributions and to make propositions or corrections to the existing variety of programs, has found the operating strategy to be difficult. As a result, partial misunderstandings with countries that have different approaches to the goals of defense and military cooperation have occurred throughout the

³⁴ Integrity Remains Key To Ukraine Stability, Security. Harvard University Gazette, 7 December 2002, Available [On-Line]: <http://www.news.harvard.edu/gazette/2000/12.07/09-Ukraine.html>; Accessed 14 January 2003.

³⁵ George C. Marshall European Center For Security Studies, Available [On-Line]: <http://www.marshallcenter.org/mcweb/site-graphic/lang-en/page-mc-index-1/doc-mc-index-picture.htm>; Accessed 14 January 2003.

cooperation phase. The lack of a general Ukrainian strategy to effectively link the State Programs of Armed Forces Building and Development to existing cooperation elements has consequently led to ‘distortions’, ‘mutual disappointment and alienation’ between American and Ukrainian military relations organizational managers. The opinion exists that:

Subsequent initiatives have shown poorer results. In the beginning, shaping activity was loosely regulated and allowed activity managers substantial discretion. Engagement activity has become more regulated over time and resources less available. Meanwhile, Ukraine’s perception of its strategic value to the West has grown proportionally with its expectations of even greater material incentives. This distortion has resulted in mutual disappointment and alienation, a vicious cycle that threatens to spin out of control as each side increasingly views the other as insincere and exploitative.³⁶

On the other hand, the American approaches to control and oversight of bilateral cooperation were initially well-grounded, and Ukraine has subsequently agreed with such propositions. The creation of such elements of control and oversight, such as the Bilateral Working Group, Ukrainian-American Joint Staff Talks, The Military-to-Military Programs Development Conference and Ukrainian-American Military Liaison Team has contributed many positive motivational procedures for bilateral relations. However, as time passes, these elements have become slow to be adapted and are sometimes confusing not only to the Ukrainians but also to their American counterparts. A variety of leverage mechanisms, greatly intertwined initiatives that often lack real operational postures in the U.S. Government and military circles, have resulted in a control ‘vacuum’:

Responsibility for the overall engagement strategy toward Ukraine remains fragmented. All actions are supposed to complement the Mission Performance Plan (MPP), approved by the ambassador for all Federal agencies operating under the umbrella of the country team in Kiev, but MPP, NATO activity, and the U.S. European command (EUCOM) Military Contacts Program all exist without one master.

³⁶ Timothy C. Shea, “U.S. – Ukraine Relations. Shaping on NATO Doorstep,” *Joint Force Quarterly*, Autumn-Winter 2001-2002.

In this vacuum, the Office of the Secretary of Defense (OSD) works to formulate sound engagement policy and sponsors interagency working group sessions... OSD receives little help in managing engagement. No nation body oversees the effort to integrate the political, economic, and informational of national power with the military.³⁷

During the 2002 Ukrainian- American military-to-military contacts program planning conference, the Americans provided a detailed explanation of the *Joint Defense Assessment* (JDA) concept. The goal of the JDA is to define and to provide the Ukrainian Armed Forces with assessments, on the basis of military units declared by Ukraine, with recommendations as to their future training, equipment, material, technical and social support that corresponds to the standards employed in NATO countries. The program also provides provisions for a functional effectiveness assessment and its capabilities to achieve the level of full integration with NATO elements. The scale of the JDA's proposed actions is defined applicably to the activity of different branches of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. The creation of the *Ukrainian Rapid Reaction Forces*, which could be able to effectively react to European and global civil and military emergency changes, was proposed as the element of the first assessment.

The methodology of the Joint Defense Assessment includes:

- To be familiar with conceptual papers that define Ukraine's national security, such as the Ukrainian National Security Concept, the Ukrainian Military Doctrine and the State Program of Ukrainian Armed Forces Reformation and Development until 2005
- To familiarize Americans with the documents defining the basis of the activity of Ukrainian military units
- The U.S. Department of Defense, Joint Staff and the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense and General Staff representatives visit designated units to familiarize themselves with their daily activities
- To generalize received information and to prepare concrete recommendations and propositions to the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense and General Staff to coordinate further activities
- The received information will define the main directions of U.S. financial support, which will be used in long-term bilateral cooperation programs

³⁷ Timothy C. Shea, "U.S. – Ukraine Relations. Shaping on NATO Doorstep," *Joint Force Quarterly*, Autumn-Winter 2001-2002.

Since the U.S. proposal to conduct the JDA in Ukraine occurred shortly before the Ukrainian decision to apply for NATO membership, the development of the Ukrainian position was controversial. The JDA is one of the most explicit engagement elements to test the ability of Ukraine to obtain future NATO membership. The Ukrainian Armed Forces was expected to be transparent to the scale of the proposed events. The thesis makes an assumption that the proposed program, in addition to the latest intensified activity of Russia with NATO, has pushed the Ukrainian political leadership to agree to the JDA being conducted in Ukraine as a way to ascend to future membership in NATO. The complexity of bilateral activities in the framework of the JDA in terms of the exchange of classified information requires further efforts to create conditions favorable to the *General Security of Military Information Agreement*, which are still underway. The recent crisis in Ukrainian – U.S. relations at a high political level has made this question even more difficult.³⁸

The *Plan of Cooperation between Ukrainian Ministry of Defense and U.S. Department of Defense* is one of the high priority documents defining the entire spectrum of defense and military cooperation between the two countries. Recent cooperation between Ukraine and the U.S. mostly concentrates on achieving the Plan's connection to programs for the transition and development of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. The main areas of bilateral initiatives highlighted in the Plan are:

- Cooperation in security (possible threats) areas
- Military interoperability
- Armed Forces Professionalisation
- Civil-military relations
- Defense Structuring and Resourcing
- Defense Support Issues
- Military Scientific and Technical Cooperation

³⁸ The situation characterized by the sharpened tensions between Ukrainian opposition and the Ukrainian President's Administration, the international community's accusations of Ukraine selling the air-defense systems "Kolchuga" to Iraq, the situation of freedom of speech, corruption etc.

B. MILITARY COOPERATION

The primary goal of military and military-technical cooperation is to fulfill the political agenda of defense cooperation. The *Ukraine – American Military-to-Military Contacts Program* first started in 1994, and since that time, the document has become fully operational in coordinating military activities between the two countries. The program is responsible for conducting bilateral military exchange visits, bilateral and multilateral military exercises involving the Ukrainian and American Army, Air Force, Navy, National Guard, Border Guard, Coast Guard and Ministry of Emergencies components. Due to the specific nature of the U.S. military components organization, the program helped to initiate the interoperability within Ukrainian military components, though they still remain strategically and operationally independent. For this reason, program coordination is especially important to the Ukrainian military components with the overall goal of their future unified coordination to handle various sorts of emergency situations, the questions of border control and prevention of drug trafficking.

Military cooperation consists of conducting bilateral and multilateral exercises and military exchange visits. Initially, the bilateral exercises Peace Shield and Sea Breeze, started in 1995 and 1997 respectively, soon became a multilateral component counting the participation of 11-20 countries. Also conducted in the spirit of the Partnership for Peace and State Partnership³⁹ Programs, the exercises are the primary test for interoperability between American and Ukrainian military components.

Exercises conducted under the auspices of PfP are designed to promote interoperability for future peace support missions that involve NATO and PfP nations.

Exercise Sea Breeze is an in-the-spirit-of Partnership-for-peace (PfP) exercise hosted by Ukraine... have a complete exercise phased operation designed to improve standards of interoperability between participating partner and NATO units by conducting a crisis command post exercise and a maritime and ground live exercise focusing on peace support operations...allows staff representatives of the participating nations to practice humanitarian relief operations from the sea. The exercise ...promote common understanding of humanitarian assistance doctrine,

³⁹ For more information on the State Partnership Program, go to <http://www.eucom.mil/Directorates/ECPA/Exercises/SPP/StockholdersBook.pdf>.

search and rescue doctrine and the conduct of multinational maritime relief operations...

Peaceshield is a multi-national, battalion-computer assisted command post exercise, designed to train battalion commanders and staffs as they validate and further develop combined tactics, techniques and procedures for peace support operations.⁴⁰

The number of military exchange visits has been steadily increasing since 1994. However after 2000, both sides agreed to transform bilateral efforts from quantity into quality.

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Total Events	25 18*	40 34*	50 47*	62 58*	70 64*	86 72*	133 100*	122 76*	117
Senior Leadership Visits	2	3	7	4	8	7	9	14	9
Army, Navy, Air Force visits	5	7	15	11	7	9	22	24	19
Joint Military Exercises	0	0	2	3	3	8	4	5	3
Ship Visits	0	0	3	0	8	18	21	22	4

Table 5. Ukrainian – American Bilateral Military Contacts 1993 – 2001
Development Dynamics.

* Completed events

** From: the courtesy of Department of International Cooperation Ministry of Defense of Ukraine.

Started mostly from events proposed by the Americans, at the end of 1999 and the beginning of 2000, the program had begun to count on Ukrainian propositions. From 1993 to the present, the main fields of concern in the program were:

- The area of potential threats, which includes weapons of mass destruction nonproliferation, protection and the response to terrorist threats
- The area of military interoperability, which includes conducting multilateral exercises, senior military leadership exchange visits, ship's port visits, military exchange visits in the areas of strategic communications, air defense, airfield requirements, meteorology, personnel training, logistics, search and rescue operations, peace-support operations

⁴⁰ United States European Command web-site, available [online]: <http://www.eucom.mil/Directorates/ECPA/index.htm?http://www.eucom.mil/Directorates/ECPA/Exercises/main.htm&2>; accessed 12 January 2003.

- The area of force professionalization such as recruiting centers information, NCO career management, border air defense and terrorists countermeasures, military engineers project management, military police, legal service and logistic support
- The area of civil-military relations exchange visits, which includes conducting Rough & Ready exercises - California National Guard Combined Civil-Military Operations Center Events, disaster response operations, legal issues visits, public affairs training program budgeting and military topography
- The area of defense structuring and resourcing and defense support issues⁴¹

C. CONCLUSION

The recent analysis provides an opportunity to offer some possible propositions as to the structural and functional regulation of the existing cooperation strategy. The complex appearance of bilateral defense and military activity does not provide people coordinating cooperation with strictly defined goals and objectives that are easy to follow. Having a busy schedule, Ukrainian – U.S. military contacts played a key role in forming the post-Cold War European security environment. The questions that have been touched upon are concerned with almost all areas of military activities. Such a great number of events and their practical implementation become possible because of the active involvement of both the Americans and Ukrainians in practical military issues. At the same time, when significant success is achieved in various areas of military cooperation, the area of defense cooperation shows less promising results.

The subsequent transition from ‘quantity into quality’, recently announced by Ukrainian and American counterparts has still not yielded desirable outcomes. The entire scope of defense and military affairs between Ukraine and the U.S. presents a more fragmented than well-regulated mechanism. Its lacks a well-balanced strategy that should originate within civilian circles, and then such a strategy comes from civilian authorities to the military. Being successful in specific areas of cooperation does not necessarily contribute to the overall goals. Coordination management in both courtiers needs to be connected to the overall strategic goals of the countries.

⁴¹ Appendix II. 2003 U.S. – Ukraine Military Contacts Program.

To be more transparent and efficient, the recent state of affairs in politico-military as well as other areas of defense and security cooperation can be significantly improved by creating the *Joint White Book* on security, defense and military relations between Ukraine and the U.S. These are all prerequisites leading both sides to productive cooperation in this area: availability of legal and financial support, and experience of nearly a decade in dealing with common security, defense and military issues. This book, by paying attention to the conditions of military service, will make it possible to employ civilian and military personnel who are new in this area with initial knowledge on bilateral cooperation issues with the goal of more quick and effective involvement in cooperation mechanisms.

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IV. UKRAINE - U.S. MILITARY RELATIONS INFLUENCE ON THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN ARMED FORCES TO DEMOCRATIC CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

The problem of transitioning the Ukrainian Armed forces to civil-military relations corresponding to democratic principles has been dominant during the last decade since Ukrainian independence. Western scholars and politicians view those relations as essential to building a democratic society in Ukraine. The Ukrainians initially seemed to be unified in their aspirations with their western colleagues. However, as the current situation indicates, the development of a sufficient mechanism for complete interactions between the civilian and military arenas in Ukraine has not yet been as effective as was expected. This can be easily seen by analyzing the basic frameworks of democratic civil military relations, which are:

- Facilitation of transparency in national defense planning and budgeting processes
- Ensuring democratic control of the armed forces
- Clear legal and constitutional frameworks
- Chain of command from military to government through a civilian Minister of Defense
- Qualified civilians working with the military on defense policy, requirements as well as budgets
- A clear vision of professional responsibility between civilian and military personnel
- Effective oversight and review by parliament⁴²

What western scholars and politicians might see as an important achievement for civil-military relations is the prevention of military domination over the country during its independence. In reality, in the author's opinion, this is not very significant in the Eastern-European arena. Traditionally, military establishments in the Soviet Armed Forces and the post-Soviet society did not play a crucial role in the key points of a state's

⁴² Stacy R. Closson, Civil-Military Relations in Sovereign Ukraine: Contributing or Detracting from the Security of a New Nation? Jennifer D.P. Morroney, Taras Kuzio, and Mikhail Molchanov, *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy. Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*, Praeger Publishers, 2002.

governance, as it was in Spain and Latin America countries. Most likely, the armed forces were not fully connected and clearly accountable to the political establishment, but to the Communist Party and obviously were separated from the people. Therefore, the question about preventing military dominance in Ukraine as a significant merit of developing civil-military relations is not the focal point of continuing to develop democratic control over the military.

Needless to say, Ukrainian nuclear disarmament was originally thought to be the main focus of U.S. military and civilian circles for initiating any kind of relations with Ukraine, and partly as a result, the first few years of relations between Ukraine and the United States were irrevocably lost from a democratic civil-military relations transition standpoint. Further continuation of bilateral relations was placing special emphasis on the questions of military professionalism. However, the author views this situation differently. In her book, 'Democratizing Communist Militaries', Marybeth Peterson Ulrich makes a point about the effectiveness of the U.S. military's democratization approach in a variety programs in the Czech Republic and Russia "... their design flaws have limited achievement of their aims."⁴³ U.S. military relations' approach toward Ukraine has plenty of such similarities.

The thesis argues that the main efforts of Ukrainian – U.S. military relations should be directed towards strengthening the process of Ukrainian civilian and military cooperation, and acquiring the norms and principles of democratic civil-military relations and its gradual transition to that level. Military professional programs are also important but they ought to play a subsequent or secondary role. A Ukrainian Armed Forces seems unreal and vague without well-balanced civil-military relations in Ukraine. The uncertainty of having sustainable, military equipment, corresponding to national security needs and finally obtaining full NATO membership also beg the question. The United States, which already has a rich experience historically in building civil-military relations and the military relations with Ukraine as a most developed element in the country's bilateral relations, is able to fulfill those ideas in an already existing and new-developed

⁴³ Marybeth Peterson Ulrich, *Democratizing Communist Militaries. The Cases of the Czech and Russian Armed Forces*. The University of Michigan Press, 1999.

direction of Ukrainian – U.S. military cooperation. The question is what are the possible directions for that improvement?

The elements of the NATO document mentioned previously are more significant in continuing to build and develop a sufficient level of civil-military relations and the further promotion of the process of democratic consolidation in Ukraine. The present chapter analyzes the level of influence of Ukrainian – U.S. military relations on such elements of democratic civil-military relations and formulates the policy recommendations of its possible further development. The chapter's research question is a sub-question of the thesis research question - 'How the recent state of things in Ukrainian – U.S. military sphere helps the process of Ukrainian Armed Forces transition to democratic civil-military relations?'

It must be mentioned that the development of democratic civil-military relations in Ukraine is impossible without structuring and encouraging the five main areas of a consolidated democracy: *civil society, political society, the rule of law, state apparatus, and economic society*.⁴⁴ Recent analysis shows that apparently, the military sphere in Ukraine is more democratic than the civilian. The present imbalance between civilian and military democratic development is especially evident in the recent political situation in Ukraine.⁴⁵ Therefore, cohesive development of those areas is mandatory to guarantee *effective and efficient* development of democratic civil-military relations in Ukraine. The hope is that the new national Security Conception that has been approved in the first reading by the Ukraine Supreme Council on October 22, 2002 will postulate clear goals for Ukraine transatlantic integration, which is impossible without having a democratic level of civil-military relations.

⁴⁴ Juan J. Linz, Alfred Stephan. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, The Johns Hopkins University Press Baltimore and London, 1996.

⁴⁵ The situation characterized by the sharpened tensions between Ukrainian opposition and the Ukrainian President Administration, the international community's accusations to Ukraine of selling to Iraq passive air-surveillance systems "Kolchuga", the situation with a freedom of speech, corruption etc.

A. FACILITATION OF TRANSPARENCY IN NATIONAL DEFENSE PLANNING AND BUDGETING PROCESSES

Although, transparency in budget, personnel and policy formulation is crucial not only for the process of developing democratic civil-military relations but also for the existence of the Armed Forces, it remains unclear and insufficiently regulated. The best indicator is the condition of the financial system of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, and assuming that the transparency of the defense budget process presupposes a clear mechanism for a Ukrainian civilian and military interagency organization. The question of creating a budget in the three sections, the Supreme Council, the Cabinet of Ministers and the Ministry of Defense, does not seem very easy. The principles of operations among these sections remain impermeable. Although, western scholars appear to be more optimistic:

But it is in the budgetary sphere where the Rada's [Ukrainian Parliament] authority has grown most substantially and constructively. It also in this sphere where the challenges of establishing of civil-democratic control can be seen most vividly. Until recently, the prerogatives granted to the Rada under the constitution to approve the defense budget did not provide a constructive check on executive power. In the absence of transparent and disaggregated budget and sufficient corporate expertise, the Rada's Commission on National Security and Defense had little to scrutinize, little basis for questioning the costs and assessment presented to them, and little choice but "take or leave it." Today realities... the commission's basis has grown (assisting by growing collaboration with NGO) and its prerogatives strengthened by the work of the Rada's Accounting Chamber.⁴⁶

The question about insufficient funds in the military budget and its transparency initially also did not seem obvious. However, such components as budget detail information and its presence in the mass media and on the Internet implies much from its criticism by non-governmental and foreign organizations. Unfortunately, the absence of information on the military budget on the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense official site does not allow a clear picture of the pros and cons to be presented.

⁴⁶ James Sherr, Security, Democracy, and "Civil-Democratic Control" of Armed Forces in Ukraine, Jennifer D. P. Morroney, Taras Kuzio, and Mikhail Molchanov, *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy. Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*, Praeger Publishers, 2002.

The main efforts of Ukrainian – U.S. relations concerning this question are mainly concentrated in the *International Military and Education Program* (IMET). The questions about utilizing specialists, for example in civil-military relations and defense budgeting, who are educated in the United States, have been expressed in the American mass media with greater apprehension:

The greatest fault with international military education and training is the belief that many officer-graduates will rise to position of prominence in their armed forces. IMET does not require retention in exchange for free education, and Ukraine has done poorly at using these highly trained officers. Transparency in nomination process, clear and detailed guidelines outlining minimum qualifications, and accountability for retaining and assigning officers should be instituted as prerequisites for IMET.⁴⁷

The lack of structural mechanisms of nomination and coordination processes in that area of bilateral relations poses an explicit task about the possibility of the creation of a joint consultative mechanism in the framework of the military cooperation's in already existing bilateral mechanisms, such as the annual Ukrainian – American Bilateral Defense Consultations (BDC).

Lately, Ukraine has made a progressive step toward the process of transparent defense budgeting and defense policy by initiating the Joint Defense Assessment (JDA) with both NATO and U.S. military organizations. JDA is part of a complex defense assessment program directed specifically at the process of the main defense components optimization by providing interoperability with the armed forces of NATO members, and even more importantly, the optimization of the needs and expenses of the Ukrainian Armed Forces respectively to the level of national threats and the economic capabilities of the country. It is worth mentioning the sensitivity of the Ukrainian Minister of Defense regarding this question, that

⁴⁷ Timothy C. Shea, "U.S. – Ukraine Relations. Shaping on NATO Doorstep," *Joint Force Quarterly*, Autumn-Winter 2001-2002.

...[JDA] won't be directed on bare military weapons and equipment inventory, but on the analysis of armed forces structure, operational principles, compatibility level with NATO alliance-members.⁴⁸

The Ukrainian Defense Minister's anxiety can be easily explained by the question of long-standing negotiations between the two countries about the Classified Information Exchange Agreement. The Ukrainian position concluded that such a paper may significantly advance both military organization's relations in areas of defense structuring, operational activity and future membership in NATO.

The creation of the Joint Ukrainian – U.S. defense policy and budgeting experts group based on existing cooperation, from the author's standpoint, could serve to further promote the principles of transparency and proficiency in democratic approaches to utilizing defense policy and budgeting patterns. That group might possess all the abilities to interact with the NATO defense analysis mechanism and newly created government commission for defense reform.

B. ENSURING DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF THE ARMED FORCES

Establishing democratic control over the armed forces in Ukraine as the Post-Soviet republic is a complex if not unsolvable problem. The difficulty may be partly explained by the insufficient development, or even absence, of all five main arenas of a consolidated democracy mentioned previously. The deficiency of these structural elements may produce misperceptions typical for a society in a transitional stage,

...Civilian control has been a Western orthodoxy reflecting three classic Western preoccupations: keeping the military out of politics, keeping the military out of power and subordinating military values to civilian ones.⁴⁹

As mentioned previously, the Soviet example has proved that the regime was mostly,

⁴⁸ Mykola Siryk, "Ten Years of Defense Analysis, NATO's Recipe of Ukrainian Armed Forces Reformation," *Mirror Weekly* v. 42 (417), available [online]: www.zerkalo-nedeli.com/ie/36640, accessed 20 January 2003.

⁴⁹ James Sherr, Security, Democracy, and "Civil-Democratic Control" of Armed Forces in Ukraine, Jennifer D. P. Morroney, Taras Kuzio, and Mikhail Molchanov, *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy. Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*, Praeger Publishers, 2002.

... Militarized, but it was not militaristic... armed forces had to be the tool of policy, rather than the master. In this respect fortunately – if even in several other respects sadly – the system of officer education has not changed in Ukraine.⁵⁰

Initially, the western value and term “democratic control” is misunderstood in Ukrainian military and civilian circles. The misunderstanding primarily concentrates on two main reasons: linguistic associative definition and misunderstanding of the core significance of democratic civil-military relations. The meaning of the term “control” is mostly associated with the words “...’direction’... or ‘supervision’”. However, “...at most it corresponds to ‘oversight’.”⁵¹ The next reason for such misperceptions mainly focuses on the fact that the question of democratic control over the military is substantially resolved with civilian institutions, and the means for military subordination to civilian authorities. Although, in reality, the question is far from a positive solution. The concept of civilian control over military personnel is only one element of the greater topic of democratic control over military or democratic civil-military relations while others remained practically untouched.

Ukrainian political and military environment misperceptions of the question on democratic civil-military relations are mainly caused by the scant influence of western political and academic communities on the formation of the Ukrainian’s view and representation of such relations. Possessing a large quantity of theoretical and case materials on civil-military relations, including the Eastern problem, the West’s connection with existing civilian and military exchange programs in Ukraine does not produce desirable outcomes.

As a result, the democratic notions of civil-military relations have not been fully implemented in Ukraine’s political and military hierarchy during the last decade. The Byzantine style of military utilization of any executive power, and not the institutional

⁵⁰ James Sherr, Security, Democracy, and “Civil-Democratic Control” of Armed Forces in Ukraine, Jennifer D. P. Morroney, Taras Kuzio, and Mikhail Molchanov, *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy. Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*, Praeger Publishers, 2002.

⁵¹ James Sherr, Security, Democracy, and “Civil-Democratic Control” of Armed Forces in Ukraine, Jennifer D. P. Morroney, Taras Kuzio, and Mikhail Molchanov, *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy. Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*, Praeger Publishers, 2002.

style, still prevails as an appropriate method of civil-military interactions. These relations are the logical outcome of a weak or undeveloped civil society in the country:

To this day, most ordinary people in Ukraine do not start with Enlightenment assumption that “man is the architect of his fortunes.”... they no more expect to exercise control over the state then they expect to control the weather, and then expect “them”, the *vlada* (“powers”) to act according to their own rules and purely in their own interests.⁵²

The concept of a Ukrainian “civil society” is a cornerstone of creating democratic civil-military relations. The realization of civilian control over the military should be implemented by developing the five main elements of consolidated democracy in Ukraine. The notion that the people are “masters” of their armed forces must be a prevalent concept in the education of civilian and military professionals. Of course, such an idea presumes clear legal and constitutional frameworks with the goal of ensuring democratic control over the military.

The role of Ukrainian – U.S. military relations in that question cannot be immediate but only gradual. To achieve the efficacy of ensuring democratic control over the military from the bilateral relation standpoint is a matter of time and well-coordinated actions in all elements of education and implementation of the core democratic civil-military values, beginning with military educational programs, developing joint strategies, and supporting and establishing a democratic civil-military environment in the country.

C. CLEAR LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS

From the moment independence was obtained in 1991 until 2001, the Ukrainian parliament has progressed quite a bit in establishing a legal and constitutional base. The laws that fall under military activities, and which have become a legal framework shaping civil-military relations in Ukraine are:

- The Constitution of Ukraine (1996)
- The Law of the Armed Forces of Ukraine (1993)

⁵² James Sherr, Security, Democracy, and “Civil-Democratic Control” of Armed Forces in Ukraine, Jennifer D.P. Morrone, Taras Kuzio, and Mikhail Molchanov, *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy. Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*, Praeger Publishers, 2002.

- 1993 Military Doctrine (attempt to renew it in 2001)
- State Program on Armed Forces Reform and Development 2001 – 2005
- National Security Concept (1997)

It is difficult to assert whether those laws fully correspond to the realm of democratic civil-military relations. As is more apparent, by observing the workability of those laws, the mechanisms for their implementation and execution have received a great deal of criticism. Defiance of the laws by powerful personalities or institutions that do not have the authority to make do so, still persists in Ukraine. That situation is obviously ingrained in the concept of the state functioning in accordance with legal frameworks and in the question of corporate judicial discipline. Without proper education and the unquestionable observance of norms and principles reflected in laws, the existence and the continuance of democratic civil-military relations is hardly achievable.

The other significant difficulty in pursuing democratic principles in civil-military relations lies in the area of a law's functional and structural coherence:

The growing coherence and density of the legal framework in Ukraine defense sphere – a world apart from the incoherence that still prevails in spheres such as finance, export licensing, and taxation – limit arbitrary actions and strengthen the risk that such actions will be exposed and censured. They are a precondition for lawful, accountable conduct, even if they do not guarantee it.⁵³

Ukrainian law concerning its armed forces clearly outlines the areas of responsibility between the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff. Observations from last year indicate inefficiency in the implementation these key law components. The area of responsibility between those structural defense institutions, once indicated in the law of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, in practice is vague about separating functional responsibilities. The explanation for that phenomenon varies from positional conflicts of the defense establishment, the lack of civilian professionals able to handle and work with defense aspects and possessing civilian expertise, unwillingness of governmental bodies other than the Ministry of Defense to deal with defense problems, to the low threat level

⁵³ James Sherr, Security, Democracy, and “Civil-Democratic Control” of Armed Forces in Ukraine, Jennifer D. P. Morroney, Taras Kuzio, and Mikhail Molchanov, *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy. Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*, Praeger Publishers, 2002.

to the military dimension of Ukrainian national security that leads to the misperception of the country's safeness.

The Ukrainian Supreme Council, a key player in creating the armed forces during the Ukrainian years of independence, has substantially downsized its legal influence concerning the process of the budgeting accountability of the Ministry of Defense once the budget is approved by the Parliament. According to Heorhy Kriuchkov, recently the chief of the parliamentary committee on national security and defense issues:

...The Parliament of Ukraine is deprived of legal grounds to influence personnel policy on the military sector, which reduces the effectiveness of control. Parliamentary committees are not empowered with any supervisory functions. Although, they scrutinize implementation of specific laws, formally, this is not in line with the norms of the Constitution.⁵⁴

From these particular examples, the role of Ukrainian – U.S. military relations appears to be important in order influence and help the process of civil-military lawmaking and law correction. Recent military cooperation does not need to be directed only at purely military aspects but needs to be able to create mechanisms that allow Ukrainian and American civilian and military legal experts to exchange and participate in a variety of case events covering the process of civil-military legal interactions. The Ukrainians and Americans already have in their military programs a direction that enhances the legal development of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. It will be beneficial to extend that program also to civil-military relations, including Ukrainian civil legal specialists.

The gradual transition of the Ukrainian Armed Forces has resulted in progress at the instigation of the Ukrainian Supreme Council

The 'Law of Ukraine on Civilian Control over the Military organizations and Law enforcement activities in Ukraine.' The law encapsulates the

⁵⁴ Stacy R. Closson Civil-military Relations in Sovereign Ukraine: Contributing or Detracting from the Security of a New Nation? Jennifer D.P. Morroney, Taras Kuzio, and Mikhail Molchanov, *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy*. Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives, Praeger Publishers, 2002.

1994 'OSCE Code of Conduct Regarding Political Military Aspects of Security,' to which Ukraine is signatory.⁵⁵

D. CHAIN OF COMMAND FROM GOVERNMENT TO MILITARY THROUGH A CIVILIAN MINISTER OF DEFENSE

Recently, as well as during the last decade, the question of having a civilian defense minister was too controversial for Ukrainian political and military circles. More than decade of Ukrainian independence has not eased the question of the acceptance of a civilian high-top official in the corridors of military power. The failed attempt at having Valeriy Shmarov (1994 – 1996) be the first civilian Minister of Defense has highlighted some provisions. Shmarov's appearance on the Ukrainian scene as a Defense Minister had resulted in his being generally negatively received in the Ukrainian high military defense establishment:

...The overly ambitious Valery Shmarov... had a point when declaring that "The generals are people who have to carry out orders from above. And so they think this way today and will think and act differently tomorrow..." who was decidedly an "outsider," never to be trusted... Valery Shmarov could not do [National Program of the Construction and Development of the Armed Forces] and for which he was increasingly often attacked verbally for nearly two years... which had been lost in the Defense Ministry and General Staff bureaucratic labyrinth ...⁵⁶

Such attitudes toward Shmarov may be explained by his lack of military expertise, especially concerning the area of civil-military relations. He was alone as a top-ranking civilian in the Ministry of Defense who did not possess a clear conceptual framework on how to handle a military environment. Military legacy, both human and material remained after the Soviet Union dissolved and somehow helped him to manage the situation, but the Armed Forces needed serious structural and functional changes. The Civilian Ministry of Defense – General Staff correlation of forces was not properly executed with Shmarov in the center of purely military activities. However, it was not his responsibility to properly adjust interactions of the Ministry of Defense – Parliament

⁵⁵ Stacy R. Closson *Civil-military Relations in Sovereign Ukraine: Contributing or Detracting from the Security of a New Nation?* Jennifer D. P. Morroney, Taras Kuzio, and Mikhail Molchanov, *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy*. Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives, Praeger Publishers, 2002.

⁵⁶ Serhiy Zgurets, "Oleksandr Kuzmuk's Golden Hour," *The Day*, available [online]: <http://day.kiev.ua/DIGEST/1998/30/personae/per-2.htm>; accessed 12 December 2002.

– Cabinet of Ministers in questions dealing with the military budget. Analyzing the military Ministers of Defense following Shmarov, the same inability to manage military financing questions can be traced easily. It is not possible even for a civilian Minister of Defense to deal with the questions of military – civilian institution interactions when the entire system needs to be adjusted. However, it was Shmarov who initiated Ukraine’s membership in the ‘Partnership-for-Peace’ program by saying that: “Ukraine’s aspirations are not only to become integrated into the world’s economic community, but also to establish interaction in the military sphere.”⁵⁷

After President Kuchma had replaced Valery Shmarov with a military person, he explained to the democratic Europe, “We will decide on appointing a civilian as Defense Minister when our Armed Forces are firmly put on their feet.”⁵⁸ However, the questions relating to democratic control over civil-military relations are raised by every NATO delegation visiting Ukraine. For Ukrainian – U.S. military relations, the visible goal is to continue its efforts in creating a professional civil and military service in Ukraine. The IMET program, as well as bilateral conferences and seminars covering questions of civil-military relations, combined with the mechanism of implementing principles and employing people who possess knowledge in the area of civil – military relations, can serve as a viable element for furthering the development of effective civil-military relations with democratic norms and principles. Otherwise, it does not seem possible that a fully workable civilian Minister of Defense in Ukraine will occur without changing such principles, as James Sherr argues:

...Yet Ukraine does not possess a professional civil service, a corps of administrators whose political neutrality is unquestioned and who are competent and expert enough to execute government policy... Do the armed forces resent civilian control, or do they resent being controlled by those who are less professional than they are? Whatever the answer to this

⁵⁷ Interview with Ukrainian Minister of Defense, available [online]: http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Jun1996/n06071996_9606074.html, accessed 11 November 2002.

⁵⁸ Serhiy Zgurets, “Oleksandr Kuzmuk’s Golden Hour,” *The Day*, available [online]: <http://day.kiev.ua/DIGEST/1998/30/personae/per-2.htm>, accessed 12 December 2002.

question, the armed forces are probably correct that the time has not yet arrived for a civilian minister of defense in Ukraine.⁵⁹

Putting that argument candidly, the question whether Ukraine is able to fully participate in European economic and transatlantic security organizations with the current state of affairs remains unchallenged.

E. QUALIFIED CIVILIANS WORKING WITH THE MILITARY ON DEFENSE POLICY, REQUIREMENTS, AND BUDGET

This question has much in common with the aforementioned element of professional civilian control over the military. Why are civil-military interactions in defense policy, military requirements and budget so essential to finding an appropriate place in the system of democratic values? To begin with, democratic control presumes a full military accountability to their civilian taxpayers. As Valeriy Muntiyan mentioned, the defense is

...a specific product, which people buy from government... Therefore, defense expenditures – one of the main ‘common values’, which continuously competes with social expenses for its portion in state’s budget.⁶⁰

There are two sides to developing such a notion in Ukraine. First, the idea of full accountability of military expenditures not only when the budget is created, but also when it is executed. Unfortunately, that position, as of yet, still is not strongly supported. Although, many promising remarks have been made, even now it is surprising that the process is still not accepted in the Ministry of Defense – Parliament – Cabinet of Ministers interaction logic. The transparency in the area of military budget supervision would have helped with the questions of fulfilling the budget. Military unwillingness or ignorance in reflecting the information about budget expenditures publicly, on the one hand, and civilian incompetence or passiveness, on the other, prevents the processes of reforming the Armed Forces and transitioning to democratic control.

⁵⁹ James Sherr, Security, Democracy, and “Civil-Democratic Control” of Armed Forces in Ukraine, Jennifer D. P. Morroney, Taras Kuzio, and Mikhail Molchanov, *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy. Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*, Praeger Publishers, 2002.

⁶⁰ Valeriy Muntiyan, “Ukrainian Armed Forces Financing: Problems and Perspectives,” *Mirror Weekly*, v. 34 (409) Saturday, September 7-14, 2002, available [online]: <http://www.zerkalo-nedeli.com/ie/print/36038/>; accessed 13 December 2002.

Second, the defense policy cannot be clearly formulated without common civil – military initiative and organization. The defense policy is not necessarily reflected only in the National Security Concept, which was produced by the National Security and Defense Council, but also includes the questions about social guarantees to military personnel, development of military infrastructure and future military perspectives. It should at all times have an executive feedback in order to achieve progress in military efficacy and effectiveness.

Ukraine lacks qualified civilians who will be able to effectively work with military institutions as well as militaries that know and understand the necessity of well-balanced and well-coordinated civil-military teamwork. Substantial Ukrainian – U.S. military relations influence in this area is only unfortunately just beginning. However, it is the important part in the development of domestic and NATO involvement concerning qualified civilians working with the military on defense policy, requirements, and the budget.

F. EFFECTIVE OVERSIGHT AND REVIEW BY PARLIAMENT

With the goal of effectively achieving parliamentary oversight over military bodies, except for the aforementioned principles, the Ukrainian Parliament's primary need is to achieve consolidation in the implementation process. According to the Ukrainian Minister of Defense, General Vladimir Shkidchenko:

[Civilian] Control must include also the responsibility of the bodies that control. Where is parliamentary control when for the past 8 months the Armed forces received 63.2 mil Hrv. [about \$12 mil.] less? Why is the Parliament going to examine 2002 budget's execution only in 2003, when it is impossible to change anything? We can go even further. According to the Ukrainian Defense Law – 3% from GDP is assigned to the defense needs; however this law is not fulfilled. Again, where is parliamentary control? It is necessary either to edit this law or to ask about its non-fulfillment... The real statesmen also have to take the responsibility for the Armed Forces recent state of affairs.⁶¹

These observations uncover parliamentary – Ministry of Defense interaction difficulties because of the weakly-developed level of analysis that is inadequate without

⁶¹ Interview with Ukrainian Minister of Defense, "The Priority Now is to Renew the Confidence to the Armed Forces," *Narodnaya Armiya*, v. 167, 13 September 2002.

possessing joint professional civilian-military expertise. Thus, Ukrainian – U.S. military relations can reliably affect and influence the development of an efficient mechanism of parliamentary control over military sphere such as:

- The development of mechanism for military budget priority articles
- The development of budget articles from audit and functional points of view
- Sufficient control over military budget expenditures
- The questions of the need to create intelligence and issues in the area of military science and technology oversight committees to develop sufficient analytical and information coverage.⁶²

G. CONCLUSION

The current transformation of democratic civil-military relations in Ukraine is supported more by the military than by civilian authorities. Explanations are easy to identify. Since the first days of Ukrainian independence, the military has taken an active role in most of the world's democratic security mechanisms: the Partnership for Peace Program, the United Nations Peacekeeping Operations, the Black Sea Security Forces and the Rapid Reaction Forces. All these initiatives have shown that the military is doing better in terms of fostering democratic-civilian institutions. The majority of such initiatives in their framework documents envision the development of democratic civil-military relations in a participant country. Most civilian political and economic initiatives have recently gone awry, such as Ukraine membership in the WTO and EU.

It is also true that the current situation in Ukrainian – U.S. military relations needs to be seriously reassessed. The indicators are mutual dissatisfaction with the results of cooperation that sometimes lead to harsh critics – “For any strategy to succeed, it must be implemented using all instruments of U.S. power – and Ukraine must respond across the entire spectrum of its government.”⁶³

⁶² Democratic and Civilian Control over military sphere in Ukraine: From Shaping to Maintaining Sufficient Democratic Civil-Military Relations, *National Security and Defense Magazine*, v. 11, 2000, available [online]: www.uceps.com.ua/eng/all/journal/2000_11/html/2.shtml; accessed 20 November 2002.

⁶³ Timothy C. Shea, “U.S. – Ukraine Relations. Shaping on NATO Doorstep,” *Joint Force Quarterly*, Autumn-Winter 2001-2002.

The author is not sure whether the aforementioned semi-punitive actions, if proposed by the U.S. toward its engagement in Ukraine, would bring the desirable results. Nobody likes to be a puppet in the hands of a more powerful actor. Liberal pressure does not always vindicate the promotion of democratic values. More apparently, the “more thoughtful organization” will look more encouraging for both Ukrainians and Americans as a result of the bilateral relations experience gained during the past decade than using power constituents. There is no doubt that in the future such cohesive actions will gain not only a diplomatic appreciation but also the full support of the people. It sounds trustworthy and cogently that:

Ukraine, of course, must do its part. In particular our efforts to assist Ukraine in its desire to move closer to transatlantic community will not succeed if its government is unable or unwilling to implement needed defense reforms and, more broadly, vital economic and political reforms to free up markets and combat corruption.⁶⁴

Therefore, the question of developing and deepening civil-military relations in Ukraine become a substantial point of the Ukraine’s ability to obtain full-membership in NATO, and in the foreseeable future, to enjoy the economic and social freedom benefits of the European community. Ukrainian – U.S. military relations should become a substantial mechanism for shaping and implementing such relations. Ukraine is a part of democratic Europe and its place within political, economical and military European organizations is essential not only for Ukraine, but also for all European countries.

The Ukrainian notion of civil-military relations is different from those of Latin America and Western countries. The years of independence have resulted in significant progress in the transition of the Armed Forces to a democratic institution in Ukraine by removing them from the civil part of society. Such phenomena can be explained by insufficient attention paid to the domestic and international community concerning the question of developing democratic civil-military relations in Ukrainian civil society and with civil authorities. As a result, “the state of civil-military relations in Ukraine cannot

⁶⁴ Strengthening Transatlantic Security. U.S. Strategy for 21st Century, available [online]: www.defenselink.mil/pubs/eurostrategy2000.pdf; accessed 22 November 2002.

be defined as sufficient, because of the one main principle – civil responsibility for the level of the Armed Forces efficacy.”⁶⁵

Given all these points, the effect of Ukrainian – U.S. military relations may substantially alleviate the main issues in democratic civil-military relations facing Ukraine such as:

- Facilitating transparency in national defense planning and budgeting processes
- Defining more precisely the goals and objectives of Ukraine civilian and military bodies and a method for their proper interactions
- Defining the level of responsibility between civilian and military executive and legislative mechanisms such as the Supreme Council, the Ministry of Defense, the General Staff and the Supreme Court
- Helping in further building clear legal and constitutional frameworks
- Promoting further education in the area of civil-military relations as the ensuing method to establish a chain of command from the military to the government through a civilian Minister of Defense and qualified civilians working with the military on defense policy, requirements and the budget
- Working in the area of assuring effective oversight and review by parliament not only over budgeting issues but also through structural and functional control
- Developing propositions able to facilitate and maintain, specific to Ukraine, the previously bungled prestige of military service and the high level of trust towards the military from the Ukrainian society
- Involving the Ukrainian civil society in discussions and the decision-making mechanism concerning a wide variety of military issues through the mass media

⁶⁵ Democratic and Civilian Control over Military Sphere in Ukraine: From Shaping to Maintaining Sufficient Democratic Civil-Military Relations, *National Security and Defense Magazine*, v. 11, 2000, available [online]: www.uceps.com.ua/eng/all/journal/2000_11/html/2.shtml; accessed 20 November 2002.

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V. FUTURE OF UKRAINIAN – U.S. DEFENSE AND MILITARY RELATIONS

The first decade of Ukrainian – U.S. relations in the defense sphere has shown the U.S.'s strong defense and military support of Ukraine. Its possible future progress will completely depend on Ukraine's ability to provide Western countries with significant incentives on military reforms. The ability of the Ukrainian Armed Forces to respond to the country's economic capabilities and changes in the world security environment by demonstrating its professional qualities that correspond to democratic principles and values will influence the level of U.S. future military engagement in Ukraine. Despite recent difficulties in relations between the two countries at a high political level, the question of military relations and relations in the defense sphere continuously remains an active and further progressing element of bilateral relations.

A. DEFENSE RELATIONS

The question of Ukrainian military reform is especially important for the United States concerning Ukraine's future commensurable position with the transatlantic security organization. The development of democratic civil-military relations is one of the main elements of the reform. For this reason, the United States Ambassador to Ukraine, Carlos Pascual, has observed that there is a need to continue further cooperation between Ukrainian and U.S. Armed Forces as well as between defense ministries. He has also stressed the importance of further support of the democratic environment and strong civil society in Ukraine.⁶⁶

It is obvious that the United State will continue its support of Ukraine's future membership in NATO. Being significantly challenged by the deterioration of Ukraine – U.S. relations at a high level, the November 2002 NATO Prague Summit could not tangibly change the acceleration of Ukraine – NATO relations. Despite serious doubts about Ukraine's impending entry in NATO, European security considerations cannot

⁶⁶ "Pascual: It is Difficult to Contemplate, Either Washington or Kiev Would Change Their Positions," January 12, 2003, available [online]: <http://www.korrespondent.net>; accessed 12 January 2003.

simply disregard the strategic importance of Ukraine. The United States, in this case, will probably continue to support Ukraine.

In its turn, Ukraine will continuously accept and assist U.S. initiatives in defense and military area to have U.S.'s strong lobby in NATO, the guaranty of Ukraine's nuclear security and support of Ukrainian Armed Forces further transformation. It might seem in the eyes of some Ukrainian and international politicians that Russia's latest rapprochement with NATO could significantly diminish strategic and geo-strategic importance of Ukraine. Following this logic Ukraine, therefore, might lose its strategic attractiveness to the United States. In this case, Carlos Pascual and Steven Pifer disprove the aforementioned suspicion relying on Ukraine's consecutive movement in democratic and military reforms and its European integration.

The long-term objectives of the United States and Ukraine for Ukraine coincide: a democratic, market-oriented, prosperous state founded on the rule of law and integrated with Europe. For the United States, these goals are long standing, underpinned by strong bipartisan consensus. To achieve these ends, keeping focused on long-term objectives and not allowing every twist and turn of Ukrainian domestic politics to drive U.S. policy is crucial. Current events should not be ignored; rather, our capacity to address them will be stronger if they are integrated into a consistent long-term policy agenda. For that reason, the United States will continue to engage Ukraine and support a reform agenda consistent with Ukraine's integration with Europe.⁶⁷

The question of the Ukrainian Armed Forces further transparency and democratic control will lead Ukrainian – U.S. defense relations to improve in the area of defense reform and defense economics. Future defense activities will be mainly concentrated on the Joint Consultative Economic Committee, which contemplates cooperation to assist the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine with self-sufficiency in dealing with economic adjustment procedures and the question of base closures. Ukraine and the U.S. joint defense economy mechanism will continue adjusting its activities toward Ukraine's further adoption of modern western defense management procedures. Scarce future resources available to Ukraine will be decreasing even more, and therefore, will cause the country's civilian and military leadership to be more efficient in its spending.

⁶⁷ Carlos Pascual, Steven Pifer, "Ukraine's Bid for a Decisive Place in History," *The Washington Quarterly*, 25:1 pp. 175-192, Winter 2002.

While being the crucial aspect of civil-military relations, defense reform and defense economics will become the major constituent of Ukrainian – U.S. defense relations. At the same time, other elements of civil-military relations are problematic for Ukraine, such as the institution of a civilian Minister of Defense and qualified civilians working with the military on defense policy, requirements and the budget. Effective oversight and review by parliament all of these factors will obviously result in the U.S.'s further emphasis on shaping the future strategy of bilateral defense relations. With these and other questions that pose problems in the area of Ukrainian civil-military relations, IMET-sponsoring events will continue their activities in the European Marshall Center for Security Studies and the Monterey Center for Civil-Military Relations.

More civilian involvement in the matters of military and defense policy is necessary to overcome that ambiguity in Ukraine's strategic orientation... The problem is not so much the number of civilians working for the Ministry of Defense... the problem is to reshape these institutions according to civilian norms of governance, transparency and accountability. The level of society involvement could be increased if more broad-based nongovernmental organizations showed persistent interest in the matter of security and defense.⁶⁸

Such a U.S. position at the executive level may be well correlated with the Ukrainian-American Bilateral Relations Office, previously known as the Ukrainian – American Military Liaison Team that has been operating in Ukraine since March 1999. Making its separate from NATO efforts, the U.S. is able to continue or enhance the main elements of its bilateral defense and military relations to maintain its own economic and security macro-consideration in Europe.

At the same time, the U.S.'s recent National Security Strategy is directed towards the further strengthening of U.S. security cooperation with the NATO alliance. The events of September 11th have resulted in the focus of national strategy being shifted toward the creation of the so-called Rapid Reaction Forces. The impact on Ukrainian – U.S. defense and military relations, for the short term, is the active support of the U.S. in

⁶⁸ Mikhail Molchanov, Conclusion. Jennifer D. P. Morroney, Taras Kuzio, and Mikhail Molchanov. *Ukrainian Foreign and Security Policy. Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*, Praeger Publishers, 2002.

the development of the Ukrainian Rapid Reaction Forces, relying on Ukraine's future NATO membership, and therefore, will concentrate the lion's share of its financial and military support toward the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

...NATO must develop new structures and capabilities to carry out that mission under new circumstances. NATO must build a capability to field, at short notice, highly mobile, specially trained forces whenever they are needed to respond to a threat against any member of the alliance.⁶⁹

However, the U.S.'s future position toward Ukraine is seen as being overshadowed by the U.S.'s hope to alleviate Russia's NATO aspirations only at the expense of being actively involved in the former Soviet Union countries.

We will continue to bolster the independence and stability of the states of the former Soviet Union in the belief that a prosperous and stable neighborhood will reinforce Russia's growing commitment to integration into the Euro-Atlantic community.⁷⁰

It is hopeful that the statement of the aforementioned Carlos Pascual and Stiven Pifer does not contradict U.S. National Security aspirations.

Recent observations indicate that the Ukraine – NATO partnership will remain an important element for shaping Ukrainian and American cooperation in the defense sphere. The questions of Ukrainian military reform and civil-military relations further development discussed at the Bilateral Working Group session are similar to those stated by the NATO – Ukrainian Action Plan signed on November 2002 Summit in Prague.

Ukraine remains committed to carrying forward its defense and security sector reforms, with the aim of restructuring and reorganizing its national defense and security establishment into a democratically controlled and effective organization able to ensure its sovereignty and territorial integrity and to contribute to peace and stability in the Euro-Atlantic area.

In taking forward these defense and security sector reforms, Ukraine seeks to adapt its structures and missions to the changing nature of security risks in the Euro-Atlantic area, to shift from the principle of "territorial circular

⁶⁹ *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, The White House, p. 25, September 2002.

⁷⁰ *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, The White House, p. 27, September 2002.

defense of the country, and to build on the need to support both the military and non-military aspects of crisis management...

Ukraine will seek to complement its defense reforms with programs to address the consequences and problems of defense reform, such as assistance programmes for retired and redundant personnel, base closures, safe disposal of obsolete and surplus munitions and military equipment, conversion of defense industries, and cleaning up environmental degradation.⁷¹

Being linked with NATO's basic principles, the bilateral relations of both countries in the defense sphere will also continue to develop in their own way. The possible scenario of the U.S.'s estrangement from NATO is not excluded. Recent political quarrels between the United States and Germany and France concerning actions toward Iraq indicate that U.S. individual security interests sometime conflict with those of its European alliances. The U.S. position to act unilaterally toward Iraq in the case of major discords possibly implies that despite its NATO's kinship, the question of maintaining its own security interests from time to time may take a separate and different path. Ukrainian – U.S. defense relations thus will continue to play its dual game of Ukraine's accession to NATO, and at the same time, seek or build a bilateral defense cooperation environment.

Whatever is happened, the Pentagon's international role will obviously remain directed both on alliances and individual relationships, making explicit and predictable the U.S. security policy abroad:

The U.S. Defense Department must manage far broader roles and far more complex international for the U.S. military than ever before. Both demand innovative leadership, imaginative policies, and inventive organization... To ensure effective coalition capabilities in the future, the Pentagon must develop a coherent and sustainable plan for connecting America's likely partners to the U.S. military information architecture in the future. To enhance overall international capacity but reduce the U.S. burden in conducting peacekeeping and humanitarian missions, DOD must strengthen other participants and at the same time cooperate more efficiently with them. To fulfill the ambitious goals of the 'shaping' mission, it must pursue innovative military-to-military cooperation

⁷¹ NATO – Ukraine Action Plan, available [on-line]: <http://www.nato.int/docu/basic/txt/b021122a.htm>; accessed 24 January 2003.

programs that advance U.S. national security goals and are fully integrated into the defense resource allocation process. Taken together, these recommendations comprise a blueprint for managing critical aspects of the Pentagon's global ties in the first decade of the new century.⁷²

B. MILITARY RELATIONS AND RELATIONS IN THE AREA OF MILITARY SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

The area of military relations will be supportive to the overall goals and objectives of joint programs in the defense and military sphere. The practical constituent of the relations will obviously supplement the NATO – Ukraine Action Plan.

In the context of both defense reform and adapting to new security threats, NATO Ukraine cooperation in the area of defense reform, defense related areas and military cooperation are essential.

Cooperation with NATO in the military sphere is regarded as an important element of the overall NATO-Ukraine partnership. Military cooperation translates military aspects of overall political goals and planning targets into military cooperation activities for their implementation.⁷³

Ukraine will remain responsive to the commitment of the Ukrainian – American Military-to-Military Contacts Program. The particular direction of the program, such as military medicinal exchange visits, bilateral and multilateral military exercises, legal experts exchange visits, and English language preparation and participation in the IMET program will result in the most comprehensive development. Bilateral efforts will also cover the question of U.S. continued support for developing closer NATO - Ukraine relationships, which will concentrate on training, seminars and staff officer courses, and further cooperation in developing the Yavoriv Partnership for Peace Training Center in Ukraine.

The sphere of trilateral Ukraine – U.S. – Poland military cooperation proposed by the U.S. will secure its practical fulfillment. The development of trilateral cooperation will be especially encouraged by Poland, when taking into account Poland's interest in

⁷² Elizabeth Sherwod-Randal, Christiana Briggs, Anja Miller. *Managing the Pentagon's International Relations. Keeping the Edge, Managing Defense for the Future*, A Publication of Preventive Defense Project. A Research Collaboration of the Kennedy School of Government Harvard University and Stanford University, the MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England, 2001.

⁷³ NATO – Ukraine Action Plan, available [on-line]: <http://www.nato.int/docu/basic/txt/b021122a.htm>; accessed 24 January 2003.

supporting Ukraine's future membership in NATO as its neighboring country, and close economic and political ties.

Concerning the professionalisation of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, the bilateral success achieved in creating the Army and Air Force NCO Academies will continue efforts in supporting Ukraine's all-volunteer force and the creation of a professional NCO corps.

The most tangible problem will appear in Ukrainian-American relations in spheres of military science and technology. The big differences in military-industrial complex economic approaches and high level of competition in the world's weapons market clouds the development of bilateral relations in this area. Ukraine's transitional economy looks unstable and unconnected to the European and American military industry. The U.S.'s technical support to Ukraine within the framework of the Foreign Military Sales Program is limited in nature. It will be impossible to sign the *General Security of Military Information Agreement* because of the existing 'Kolchuga' scandal. Finally, the question of the countries military-technical relations needs to be more thoroughly examined and the structure of present work must be established.

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VI. CONCLUSION

Ukrainian – U.S. defense and military relations have been successful for Ukraine. Compared to other areas of bilateral relations between two countries, defense and military cooperation demonstrates the most sizeable achievements:

- The creation and participation in the real spectrum of programs in defense and military areas that allow Ukraine to find its place within a European and Transatlantic security system
- Ukrainian Armed Forces are undergoing a transformation to democratic civil-military relations and are adjusting to modern economic and combat requirements
- Ukrainian – American relations influence the processes of Ukraine's economic and societal renovation

The thesis argues that the overall strategy of Ukraine and U.S. defense and military relations should be directed toward achieving the aforementioned goals. In defense and military spheres Ukrainian goal is to protect the people of the country by providing adequate national security. In a broader context, the idea of national security includes a wide range of economic, military and cultural activities, for example.

Ukrainian and U.S. military cooperation is advanced. This thesis demonstrates, however that military interoperability is still not contributing to overall strategic goals. Due to the absence of Ukrainian and well-defined U.S. goals in defense and military cooperation, the existing mechanisms of cooperation will continue to remain hardly receptive to the overall idea of the democratic transformation of Ukraine.

What is currently available is a set of defense and military cooperation programs and mechanisms, which have achieved limited goals and objectives. While the interoperability of the Ukrainian, American and European military units seem to be steadily progressing, the political-military environment has not changed. Without appropriate action, the recently approved *Ukrainian - NATO Action Plan* may fall by the wayside.

One of the weaknesses of modern Ukrainian – U.S. defense and military relations is that the U.S. Department of Defense is finding it difficult to discover an appropriate

counterpart in the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense. This lack of an appropriate counterpart makes it difficult to implement the strategy outlined in the *Ukrainian - NATO Action Plan* and achieve positive outcomes.

Meanwhile, the U.S. defense and military engagement programs towards Ukraine remain fragmented. Ukrainian – U.S. defense and military cooperation needs comprehensive feedback mechanisms about individual events and after-action reports.

The process and transformation of the Ukrainian Armed Forces toward democratic civilian-military requires several initiatives:

- Find a way to adjust the goals and objectives of recent cooperation in the defense sphere to the democratic structure of the Armed Forces and its place within European and Transatlantic Security
- Direct the main existing mechanisms (the U.S.-Ukraine Joint Staff Talks, the U.S.-Ukraine Bilateral Working Group, and the Joint Economic Group) of bilateral relations in the defense sphere to a renewed hierarchy of goals and objectives
- Revise the mechanisms and management of agencies that exist in the sphere of defense and military cooperation between Ukraine and the United States with the aim of performing mutual efforts, preventing deviations from the path towards democratic military reforms and transition processes of the Ukrainian Armed Forces

These goals can make a real contribution to the overall strategic goals of defense and military cooperation. Coupled with economic initiatives, the focus of democratic civil-military relations should be to ease the general climate of bilateral defense and military relations. Without such actions, Ukraine's European scenario as well as the Ukrainian – American strategic partnership officially declared by former Vice President Al Gore and President Leonid Kuchma in 1996, will remain symbolic buzzwords and diplomatic rhetoric.

APPENDIX A. PLAN OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE OF UKRAINE AND THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FOR 2003*

Building on the Memorandum of Understanding and Cooperation on Defense and Military Relations between the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine and the Department of Defense of the United States of America signed on 27 July 1993, the parties plan to make their best efforts to undertake the following defense and military cooperation activities in 2003.

A. Bilateral Meetings

1. Meetings between the Ukrainian Minister of Defense and the U.S. Secretary of Defense / *terms to be determined (TBD)*.
2. US-Ukraine defense consultations meeting/*TBD*.
3. US-Ukraine staff talks/ *TBD*.

B. Defense Cooperation

Cooperation between the Ministry of Defense and the Department of Defense is designed to meet National Defense Reform Objectives, Rapid Reaction Forces formation and mutually agreed goals in seven main focus areas, as reflected in the Joint Working Document on Ukraine-U.S. Defense Cooperation

1. Potential Threats:

- Activities pursuant to existing agreements between the parties concerning the Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) program.
- Mutually agreed activities related to NBC defense/counter proliferation.

2. Military Interoperability:

- Implementation of mutually agreed International Military Education and Training activities with emphasis on developing a broad-based English language program.
- Mutually agreed Foreign Military Sales (FMS) activities entailing provision of defense articles and services.
- Implementation, as agreed, of the Enhanced International Peacekeeping Capabilities Initiative through the FMS and Foreign Military Financing programs.
- As appropriate and as mutually agreed, continued U.S. Department of Defense support for development of the Ukraine-NATO relationship, which may include:
 - Training, seminars, and staff officer courses;
 - Continued cooperation in developing Yavoriv as Partnership for Peace Training Center;
 - Trilateral military cooperation among the Ukraine, United States and Poland.

* The Courtesy of Department of International Cooperation Ministry of Defense of Ukraine.

3. Force Professionalization:

- Scheduled activities related to the joint action plan for the Military Education Development Program to 2005.
- Mutually agreed activities in support of Ukraine's efforts in the transition of Ukraine's Armed Forces to a contract Manning system, with a focus on establishing a personnel-recruiting system.
- Continuation of cooperative activities to create a professional noncommissioned officer (NCO) corps.
- Activities directed towards professionalization and development of Rapid Reaction Forces of Ukrainian Armed Forces.
- Ukraine's participation in the exercises in the spirit and in the framework of "Partnership for Peace" Program as a host nation/ participant.

4. Civil-Military Relations:

- Continuation of the appropriate seminars and courses, particularly those sponsored by the Marshall Center and the Monterey Center for Civil-Military Relations.
- Mutually agreed activities associated with providing military support to civilian authorities in event of emergency situation and disaster relief, including the conduct of a Civil-Military Emergencies Planning Seminar.

5. Defense Structuring and Resourcing:

- Activities related to the Joint Consultative Economic Committee, including cooperation to promote Ukrainian MOD self-sufficiency in dealing with economic adaptation of those service members and their family members who are subject to force reduction, and with the conversion of military installations.

6. Defense Support Issues:

- Scheduled activities related to the military medical cooperation program.
- As mutually agreed, Department of Defense continued support for humanitarian assistance requests for non-military application, by mutual agreement.
- Exchange of information concerning military ecological concerns and their impact on environmental security.

7. Military Scientific and Technical Cooperation:

- Conduct meetings of the Ukraine - U.S. Joint Committee to review the candidate technologies provided in the Master Information Exchange Agreement.
- By mutual agreement, implement information exchanges on Military-Technical issues and examine potential venues for Military-Scientific cooperation.

C. Military Cooperation

Events related to the program of Ukrainian - U.S. military contacts for 2003 as *was not* agreed *yet* by the Chief of the General Staff of Ukraine and the Commander, U.S. European Command.

In keeping with the Memorandum of Understanding cited in the introductory paragraph, both sides will strive to enhance current programs and broaden and deepen their relations. Additional contacts may be conducted by mutual agreement.

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APPENDIX B. 2003 U.S. - UKRAINE MILITARY CONTACTS PROGRAM*

1. Based on the Memorandum of Understanding and Cooperation on Defense and Military Relations between the Department of Defense of the United States of America and the Defense Ministry of Ukraine, signed on July 27, 1993, the Parties undertake to make their best efforts to conduct the following events, which are under the auspices of the Commander, United States European Command and the Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Ukraine, in the year 2003.

2. Events in this Program were developed using the U.S. - Ukrainian Joint Working Document on Bilateral Defense and Military Cooperation and are organized according to the Major Focus Areas of Defense and Military Cooperation between the U.S. Department of Defense and the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine.

3. Joint Working Document Major Focus Areas:

I. Potential Threats:

(A) UP 429 NBC Terrorist Threat Response/WMD Nonproliferation TCT.

(B) UP 465 NBC Protection & Response TCT.

II. Military Interoperability:

(A) Military Interoperability Events in conjunction with scheduled operations in KFOR.

(B) PEACE SHIELD 03* -ISO PfP Ground Forces Exercise (Ukraine hosts) /summer.

(C) SEA BREEZE 03* -ISO PfP Naval Forces Exercise (Ukraine hosts) /summer.

(D) COMBINED ENDEAVOR 03* - ISO PfP Communications Exercise (Ukraine participates).

* Each combined exercise includes four planning conferences: Concept Development Conference, Initial Planning Conference, Main Planning Conference, and Final Planning Conference, with additional coordination meetings as required.

(E) Commander in Chief, Ukrainian Ground Forces attend Conference of European Armies hosted by US Army Europe.

(F) Naval Passing Exercises (PASSEXES) - in conjunction with scheduled 6th Fleet Operations.

(G) Port Visits — in conjunction with scheduled 6th Fleet Operations.

Naval Personnel Exchanges — in conjunction with scheduled 6th Fleet Black Sea Operations.

* The Courtesy of Department of International Cooperation Ministry of Defense of Ukraine

- (I) UP 464 Strategic Communications TCT.
- (J) UP 451 Air Defense Units in Peace Support Operations TCT.
- (K) UP 428 Airfield Requirements FAM.
- (L) UP 453 Meteorological Support to Combat Operations TCT.
- (M) UP 434 Air Force Maintenance Personnel Training FAM.
- (N) UP 435 Strategic-level Logistics FAM.
- (O) UP 454 Petroleum, Oils, and Lubricants (POL) Equipment TCT.
- (P) UP 469 Maritime Survival and Recovery Operations FAM.
- (Q) UP 440 Naval Search and Rescue TCT.
- (R) UP 441 Mechanized Unit in Multinational Peace Support Operations TCT.
- (S) UP 456 Airmobile Forces in Multinational Peace Support Operations TCT.
- (T) UP 470 Army Aviation Officer Exchange.
- (U) UP 442 Army Mechanized Infantry Officer Exchange.
- (V) UP 457 Airmobile Infantry Officer Exchange.
- (W) UP 474 Army Engineer Officer Exchange.

III. Force Professionalization:

- (A) UP 447 Computer Information Network for Recruiting Centers FAM
- (B) UP 448 Recruiting Station Shadow FAM.
- (C) UP 461 Recruiting Advertisement TCT.
- (D) UP 449 Army Transformation FAM.
- (E) UP 463 NCO Career Management TCT.
- (F) UP 466 Border Air Defense & Terrorist Countermeasures TCT.
- (G) UP 431 Explosive Ordnance Disposal & Demining Program TCT.
- (H) UP 446 Military Engineers Project Management TCT.
- (I) UP 445 U.S. Army Personnel Management Systems FAM.
- (J) UP 472 Training Program & Personnel Management Conference TCT.
- (K) UP 432 Military Police in Garrison TCT.
- (L) UP 459 Military Law Enforcement Computer Information Networks TCT.
- (M) UP 433 Military Police Unit FAM.
- (N) UP 452 Aviation Armament Operations & Storage FAM.
- (O) UP 443 Aviation Equipment Reliability TCT.
- (P) UP 439 Legal Service Shadow FAM.
- (Q) UP 468 Logistics Support TCT.
- (R) UP 426 NCO & Enlisted Artillery Training Programs TCT.

IV. Civil-Military Relations:

- (A) Rough & Ready 2003* - California National Guard Combined Civil-Military Operations Center Event (Ukraine Hosts)/ June.
* Includes 4 planning conferences and additional coordination meetings as required.
- (B) UP 438 Civil-Military Disaster Response Operations FAM.
- (C) UP 467 Civil-Military Legal Issues TCT.
- (D) UP 437 Public Affairs Training Program TCT.

- (E) UP 455 Public Relations/Mass Media FAM.
- (F) UP 471 Out-of-Cycle Budgeting TCT.
- (G) UP 460 Military Topography TCT.

V. Defense Structuring and Resourcing:

- (A) UP 444 Ecological Support to Naval Operations TCT.
- (B) UP 458 Contaminated Territory and Environmental Monitoring TCT.
- (C) UP 436 Fuels Management TCT.

VI. Defense Support Issues:

- (A) UP 462 Military Base Closure TCT.
- (B) UP 450 Force Structure/Manpower TCT.
- (C) UP 473 Endoscopy FAM.
- (D) UP 430 Military Chaplain Training Program TCT.

VII. Events that include two or more JWD Focus Areas:

- (A) U.S.-Ukraine Bilateral Working Group/ Spring.
- (B) USEUCOM-Ukraine Consultative Talks.
- (C) U.S.-Ukraine Joint Staff Talks/ Fall.
- (D) CY 2004 Bilateral Cooperation Planning Conference (to be held in

Ukraine).

George C. Marshall Center Courses:

- (E) Leaders of the 21st Century Course (2).
- (F) Executive Course (3).
- (G) Senior Executive Seminar (2).
- (H) Foreign Area Officer Field Study.
- (I) Conference on Ukrainian Defense Reform (Garmisch, Germany)

Additional contacts may be arranged through mutual agreement.

In accordance with the Memorandum of Understanding and Cooperation on Defense and Military Relations, both parties will strive to identify new areas of cooperation and the broadening and deepening of their relations. This program of military contacts will be forwarded to the Department of Defense of the United States of America and the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine for inclusion in an overall plan of defense and military contacts.

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